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ABSTRACT

This issue addresses the problems of women in developing countries, and the role of the Peace Corps in developing programs which respond to the needs of women of the Third World. Articles are presented on: (1) the adverse impact of development on women; (2) appropriate technology for women of the developing countries; (3) the transfer of technology to women; (4) placing women in male-dominated jobs (and vice versa); (5) the young women of Nepal's national development service; (6) an integrated medical approach to malnutrition in developing countries; (7) crafts projects for women; (8) women as volunteers; and (9) role analysis as a tool for women in development programmers. (BB)

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EDITORIAL

Increasingly throughout the world development community there is recognition that development efforts which ignore the role of a large portion of the population are ultimately detrimental to the whole, and in the last few years concerns about the role of women in the development process have demanded serious attention.

Peace Corps' record of programming in relation to what has become known as "Women in Development" is far from exemplary. Yet Peace Corps has been qualitatively different from other development organizations: not because of specific programs, but because of our basic premises about the relationship of people to change. Volunteering—the giving of self to two years of living and working in a community, experiencing firsthand the very real constraints to development that affect the local people—makes for a perspective that has been accurately called "the gift of comprehension." Being truly involved in the life and culture of a community, Volunteers can look at local resources and respond appropriately to needs: from the beginning of Peace Corps, long before Appropriate Technology became a catchphrase in development, Volunteers inevitably used this kind of approach. And similarly, while the Volunteers have not always been aware of the *issue* of Women in Development, they have tended to see their communities as totalities and have dealt with them as such.

Concepts such as Women in Development and Appropriate Technology are elusive: the catchphrases can be (and, recently, all too frequently have been) arbitrarily defined to apply to virtually any development effort. Yet no matter what the definition, the terms take on real meaning only when applied to the complex realities of a specific community. As the Volunteers know, development is not about "WID" or "AT", or even "GNP"; development is about people and communities, and both people and communities are complex.

Whatever the depth of understanding the Volunteers come to as individuals, the Peace Corps as an agency has a responsibility to do more than it has thus far been doing. Clearly we should be developing programs which better respond to the needs of women of the Third World; clearly we should be concerned with building *maximum* community involvement into *all* our efforts; and it is well past time for us to upgrade our training to include ideas and issues that are foremost in development thinking today.

But ultimately, our greatest responsibility is to make the Volunteers aware of the importance of their commitment to their community. For, in the end, it is that commitment—that deep involvement with people—that leads them to insights that have made and will continue to make the qualitative difference.

Margot Aronson
Francis A. Luzzatto

THE ADVERSE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT ON WOMEN

by Irene Tinker

EDITOR'S NOTE: What contribution do Third World women make to the development of their countries? And what effect does development have on their lives?

Such questions have come to the forefront of development planning in the past few years, as experts and agencies have become more and more aware of the widening gap between men and women of the Third World—their status, their education, their economic self-reliance, and the scope of their roles. The following article presents the case not simply that development activities have tended to ignore women but that they have actually hindered women.

This article originally appeared in a two-volume publication Women and World Development, prepared by the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the Overseas Development Council. Copies of Women and World Development are available in each Peace Corps country office, and additional requests for copies should be addressed to the Overseas Development Council, 1717 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

THE AUTHOR: Irene Tinker is Director of the Office of International Science in the American Associations for the Advancement of Science and President of the International Center for Research on Women. For many years a professor of political science, Dr. Tinker has specialized in the problems of comparative development in South and Southeast Asia, educational planning and curriculum development, and more recently, in population and the adverse impact of development on women. She was the first president of the Federation of Organizations for Professional Women and the organizer of the Women and World Development seminar in Mexico City for International Women's Year.

Dr. Tinker is expected to join the ACTION staff as Assistant Director for the Office of Policy and Planning, in the near future.

During much of the last quarter century, "development" has been viewed as the panacea for the economic ills of all less developed countries: create a modern infrastructure and the economy will take off, providing a better life for everyone. Yet in virtually all countries and among all classes, women have lost ground relative to men; development, by widening the gap between incomes of men and women, has not helped improve women's lives, but rather has had an adverse effect upon them.

The major reason for this deplorable phenomenon is that planners, generally men—whether in donor-country agencies or in recipient countries—have been unable to deal with the fact that women must perform two roles in society, whereas men perform only one. In subsistence societies, it is understood that women bear children and at the same time carry out economic activities that are essential to the family unit. Western industrial societies have chosen to celebrate the child-bearing role, glorifying motherhood while downgrading the economic functions attached to child bearing and household care, and erecting barriers to paid work for women. Accepting this stereotype of women's roles, economic theorists in the West imbued their students, indigenous and foreign, with the cliché that "women's place is in the

home," classifying them forever as economically dependent. In doing so, they followed the unequivocal depiction of women in the law as legally dependent minors. Small wonder that the spread of Western "civilization," with its view of woman as "child-mother," has had an adverse impact on the more sexually equal subsistence societies. Communist doctrine errs in the opposite direction, women are economic units first, mothers second. Since children interfere with work, the government provides day care; but little has been done in the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe to encourage men to share the responsibilities of children and home. This leaves women two

"In subsistence societies, it is understood that women bear children and at the same time carry out economic activities that are essential to the family unit."

time-consuming jobs: full-time work plus daily shopping, cooking, cleaning, and care of the children in the evening. Not surprisingly, the result is a drastic fall in birthrates throughout Eastern Europe—accompanied (at least in the Soviet Union) by evidence of increased marital instability and a high incidence of alcoholism among men. Yet even in these societies, where doctrine asserts that women and men are supposed to be economic equals, employment data show that women hold the least prestigious jobs.[1] It may be that in these countries also, men "subtract" a woman's home and child-care responsibilities from her ability to hold down important positions. Whatever the explanation, it would seem women lose twice.

Development planners must begin to recognize women's dual roles and stop using mythical stereotypes as a base for their development plans. A first step is to recognize the actual economic contributions of women. Even this is difficult. Statistics, the "holy building blocks" of developers, are made of the same mythical assumptions: a) "work" is performed for *money*, and b) "work" is located only in the *modern* sector. Thus the U.S. Department of Labor can issue a statement saying that in Africa only 5 per cent of the women work![2] This clearly is an absurd assertion about a continent where women are reported to be doing 60-80 per cent of the work in the fields and working up to 16 hours a day during the planting season.[3] The "explanation" for the 5 per cent figure is that agricultural work done by family members is not recorded as "work." Nor are exchange labor, household work, child care, or many activities in the tertiary or informal sector counted as work. And since statistics do not show women working, planners do not plan for women to work. Too often new projects actually intrude on activities in which women already are engaged; but instead of providing services or training to women assumptions about proper sex roles dictate that *men* receive the new training, new seeds, or new loans. The gap widens.

Unfortunately, this phenomenon of increased dependency of women on men is not new. The pattern has been repeated time and time again, whenever a given society developed beyond sheer subsistence and crated a civilization which required functional specialization. Documenting the erosion of women's position in ancient Greece and Rome, for example, Evelyne Sullerot has observed that "as a rule it is in the early periods of each civilization that the least difference exists between the position of men and that of women. As a civilization asserts and refines itself, the gap between the relative status of men and women widens."[4] May Ebihara has noted similar "reductions" of women's status in Southeast Asia's past. She points out that a Chinese visitor to the Khmer empire in Angkor in the thirteenth century recorded that women held many positions in the court; yet within a century, due to the spread of Chinese influence after the fall of the Khmer empire, women were reduced to being legal minors of their husbands.[5]

Historically, these bureaucratic states produced a stratified society with the higher classes living in towns. It seemed to follow inevitably that women, separated from their essential food production functions, became more dependent upon men, especially as upper-class men commanded large incomes and generally adopted a more ostentatious style of living. Women lost their economic base and came to be valued mainly for their female attributes of child bearing and providing sexual gratification. Thus they increasingly came to be "protected" or "confined"—perceived as "jewels" for men to play with or as vehi-

[1] Barbara W. Jancar, "Women Under Communism," in Jane S. Jaquette, ed. *Women in Politics* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974), pp. 217-42.

[2] U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, "International Protection of Human Rights" (hearings August-December 1973), 93rd Congress, p. 444.

[3] U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, Women's Programme Unit, "The Integration of Women in African Development," paper prepared for the 14th Conference of the Society for International Development, Abidjan, Ivory Coast, 1974.

[4] Evelyne Sullerot, *Women, Society, and Change* (New York: McGraw-Hill World University Library, 1971), p. 19.

[5] May Ebihara, "Khmer Village Women in Cambodia," in Carolyn S. Matthiasson, ed., *Many Sisters: Women in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (New York: The Free Press 1974), pp. 305-48.

cles for perpetuating the family line. However, they were then also perceived—accurately—as *economic liabilities*. In subsistence societies, where women are a valuable economic commodity, a man pays a bride price to the bride's father to buy her services; in societies where women have lost their economic function, the exchange of money is reversed, and the bride's family pays the groom to accept her.

Recent studies recording women's roles in subsistence economies show a panoply of traditional roles, both economic and familial, whose patterns more often add up to near serfdom than to any significant degree of independence and personal dignity for women. Yet these studies show that, however onerous women's lives, development plans have seldom helped them. Rather, development has tended to put obstacles in women's way that frequently prevent them even from maintaining what little economic independence they do have. Laws and customs designed to protect women also can cause hardship. Even education can widen the gap between men and women. This is not to say that development never helps women; the case being made is that, *compared to men*, women almost universally have lost as development has proceeded. If economic planners would only look at recent (and long-standing) anthropological evidence, they hopefully would recognize that women's productive contributions to the economy have been and can continue to be important, and perhaps would begin to plan projects which not only support women's work but also open up opportunities for women to become part of the modern economic system. With this objective in mind. this paper will now review the existing evidence which shows how development has negatively affected the productivity of women in different areas of life.

Change in Subsistence Economies

In subsistence economies every family member traditionally is assigned roles which are essential to the survival of the unit, whether that unit is a small "nuclear" family or an extended one. Men as well as women have dual functions: family roles are integrated with economic roles. While in any given society these roles generally are sex-specific, they vary from culture to culture. Almost everywhere change has meant a diminution of men's roles in caring for and training children or assisting in household tasks. Since development is primarily concerned with economic activity, and since it is women's traditional economic role that has been ignored, we shall focus on this function and how it has changed for both men and women.

Ester Boserup—in her landmark book, *Woman's Role in Economic Development*—has linked the variation of sex roles in farming to different types of agriculture. In subsistence farming where land is plentiful, a slash-and-burn technique is the typical agricultural style; generally men clear the land and women do the bulk of the farming. This agricultural technique is still predominant in Africa but is also found in many parts of Asia and Central and South America. When population increase limits land availability, draft animals are brought in to increase productivity through the use of the plough.

> And the advent of the plough usually entails a radical shift in sex roles in agriculture: men take over the ploughing even in regions where the hoeing had formerly been women's work. At the same time, the amount of weeding to be done by the women may decline on land ploughed before sowing and planting, and either men or women may get a new job of collecting feed for the animals and feeding them.[6]

"In traditional rural pursuits, the lack of education was a relatively less serious problem. But that is changing as the modern sector invades the traditional sphere."

As population pressure on land increases further, more labor-intensive crops are introduced and grown year-round in irrigated fields. Women are drawn back into the fields—to plant, weed, and harvest alongside the men.

In addition to their important role in farming, women in subsistence economies traditionally have engaged in a variety of other economic activities—spinning fibers, weaving cloth, drawing water, tending market gardens and processing and preserving foods gathered from communal property. Women in Southeast Asia boil palm sugar. West African women brew beer. Women in parts of Mexico and elsewhere make pottery. Women in most countries weave cloth and make clothes. Women in most cultures sell their surplus food in local markets. Profits from these activities generally belong to the women themselves. Thus women in many parts of the world have become known for their astuteness in the marketplace. Javanese women have a reputation for being thrifty, while Javanese men consider themselves incapable of handling money wisely. In Nicaragua, women continue to dominate the traditional marketplace, which caters to the lower classes, despite the availability of mod-

[6] Ester Boserup, *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (London George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1970), p. 33.

ern supermarkets nearby.[7] Market women of West Africa have parlayed their economic strength into political power as well. In contrast, Hindu and Arab women seldom are seen in the markets as buyers and never as sellers. But these women come from societies that have long been bureaucratized and in which women have lost some of their earlier economic independence.

Erosion of the role that women played in subsistence economies began under colonial rule. Policies aimed at improving or modernizing the farming systems, particularly the introduction of the concept of private property and the encouragement of cash crops, favored men. Under tribal custom, women who were farmers had users' rights to land. Colonial regimes, past and recent, seldom have felt comfortable with customary communal land-tenure rights and have tended to convert land to private ownership—in some cultures thereby dispossessing the women, in disregard of local tradition, by recognizing men as the new owners. This was as true of the Chinese in Southeast Asia and the Spanish in Latin America as it was of the Europeans in Asia and Africa. Thus woman still farmed the land but no longer owned it and therefore became dependent on their fathers or their brothers. Wherever colonial governments introduced cash crops, these were considered to be men's work. Much of the agricultural development was focused on improving these crops. To encourage the men to take jobs on plantations or to grow cash crops on their own land, governments frequently introduced taxes—thereby forcing men (who were more mobile) into the modern money economy, while women (with child-rearing responsibilities) remained in rural areas and hence in the subsistence economy. Their lack of access to money and loss of control of land left women with little incentive to improve either crops or the land in areas where they continued to dominate the farming system. Furthermore, access to the modern sector, whether in agriculture or industry, has drawn men away from their households and often even from their land, and thus has given women additional tasks that formerly were men's work. Not surprisingly, productivity has declined as "development" has proceeded.

Efforts to reverse this trend have been undertaken by development agencies, but their stereotypes concerning the sex of the farmer often have led to ridiculous results. In 1974 Liberia decided to try to encourage wet-rice cultivation and brought to the country a team of Taiwanese farmers. To assure attendance at the demonstration planting, the government offered wages to the observers. Many unemployed men participated in the experiment while the women continued their work in the fields. Throughout Africa, rural extension services, modeled on those in the United States, have been staffed and attended by men only; custom prevented rural women from attending courses taught by men, and the courses taught by women—mainly home economics courses on canning and sewing—were irrelevant to their needs. Cooperatives, too, tended to assume that farmers were males. Thus the men had access to credit or to improved seeds which they used to produce cash crops; women in the subsistence sector were barred from membership as well as from growing cash crops.

"Because Western stereotypes of appropriate roles and occupations for women tend to be exported with aid, modernization continually increases the gap between women's and men's ability to cope with the modern world."

Perhaps because the economic position of women in Africa was deteriorating so quickly, active opposition to this trend started there. Nigerian women formed all-female cooperatives and demanded credit to buy more efficient oil pressers to use in processing palm-oil nuts. Under pressure from women's groups, the government of Kenya reinterpreted the cooperative regulations to allow membership to women, and then formed a special task force to show women how to utilize this new opportunity. Zambian women were taught how to grow onions as a cash crop, in between rows of the usual subsistence crops. They were so successful that men demanded similar assistance; this venture turned sour when the women refused to tend the men's onions, claiming it was not a traditional obligation! In Tanzania the government is encouraging the establishment of Ujamaa villages, where land is held communally and workers are paid according to their efforts; in these villages, women for the first time are being paid for growing subsistence crops. Marjorie Mbilinyi writes that "it is therefore not surprising that women are the most ardent supporters of socialist rural policies in many areas of Tanzania."[8]

[7] Hildred Geertz, *The Javanese Family* (New York: The Free Press, 1961), and Margaret Hagen, "Notes on the Public Markets and Marketing System of Managua Nicaragua" (Managua: Instituto Centroamericano de Administracion de Empresas, 1974).

[8] Marjorie J. Mbilinyi, "Barriers to the Full Participation

The ways in which development agencies have introduced new technologies likewise have tended to contribute to the undermining of women's traditional roles. Small implements such as presses, grinders, or cutters generally have been introduced to men, even when the work for which they are a substitute traditionally has been done by women. The availability of corn grinders in Kenya, for example, clearly saves women many hours of manual effort—though they also spend hours going to the grinding center. But why are women themselves not taught to operate these grinders? Oil presses in Nigeria, tortilla-making machines in Mexico, and sago-processing machines in Sarawak also are purchased and operated by men—because only men have access to credit or to money.[9] Stereotypes that women cannot manage technology are reinforced by the fact that illiteracy is more widespread among women, who therefore cannot read instructions.

Agricultural technology has produced the "green revolution" and has altered traditional agricultural practices. The high capitalization involved in buying improved seed varieties and fertilizers has pressured farmers into more efficient harvesting arrangements which often utilize fewer laborers and increase unemployment. Planners know this and often have tried to create alternative employment for the displaced *men*. But, in most economies that rely on wet-rice cultivation, it is the women who do the harvesting. A detailed study on Central Java, for example, noted that the women formerly accepted low wages for planting in order to receive payment in rice itself for harvesting work. Today the harvesting is done by mobile teams of men using the more efficient scythe; women, who harvested with a hand knife, have lost their rights to harvest and have not yet been able to obtain higher wages for planting.[10]

Improved transportation systems have affected traditional markets in both positive and negative ways. In Mexico, for example, improved transport has increased demand for locally made ceramic animal figures, thereby increasing rural earnings. It has made manufactured fabrics available in even the smallest towns, enabling women to make clothing without having to weave the cloth. Moreover, travel to markets in town has eased the drudgery of women's lives in rural areas.[11] On the other hand, improved transport has made many traditional occupations redundant. It has opened new markets for manufactured goods that compete with local, hand-made artifacts. Traders from more distant towns are making over local markets, undercutting the traditional suppliers: women traders from outlying villages. In Java, the importation of Coca-Cola and Australian ice cream ruined local soft drink manufacture and ice cream production; both enterprises had been dominated by women. Sago processing by women in Sarawak was replaced by machine processing run by Chinese men. Men's enterprises also have suffered from competition with national or international firms. A study of governmental policies in Zaria, Nigeria, showed that small businesses run by men suffered from the lack of basic services—particularly water, light, and credit—and that this prevented their expansion; in contrast, two large local factories, producing tobacco and textiles, were fostered by governmental policy.[12] Planners usually are aware of and try to ease the demise of small businesses in the wake of modern industrialization. What they have forgotten, however, is the sex of the entrepreneurs—and hence have attempted to provide alternative employment for *men only*.

"This is not to say that development never helps women; the case being made is that, *compared to men*, women almost universally have lost as development has proceeded."

of Women in the Socialist Transformation of Tanzania," paper presented at the Conference on the Role of Rural Women in Development, sponsored by the Agricultural Development Council, Princeton, New Jersey 1974.

[9] Charlotte Stolmaker, "Examples of Stability and Change from Santa Mana Atzompa," paper presented at the Southwestern Anthropological Association Meeting, Tucson, Arizona, 1971; and Barbara E. Ward, "Women and Technology in Developing Countries," *Impact of Science on Society*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1970). Describing the adverse effects of technology, Beverly Chinas observes: "Modern technology imported by foreigners brings with it a preference for male employees." (Beverly Chinas, "La participació femenina en el sistema educational Venezolano," Documento técnico 2 (Caracas: Centro de Estudios Sociales con la Cooperación de AITEC 1975).

[10] Ann Stoler, "Land, Labor and Female Autonomy in a Javanese Village", unpublished manuscript, 1975.

[11] Stolmaker, "Examples of Stability," op. cit., p. 23: and Ward, "Women and Technology," op. cit., p. 96.

[12] Dorothy Remy and John Weeks, "Employment, Occupation and Inequality in a Non-Industrialized City," in K. Wohlmuth, ed., *Employment in Emerging Societies* (New York: Praeger, 1973).

Change in the Modern Sector and Women's Education

The elite character of all education as well as its bias in favor of men everywhere in the world means that rural women seldom are literate—a fact that inhibits their ability to move into new sectors when their traditional economic roles are superseded. Furthermore, according to the most recent UNESCO figures, the disparity between male and female illiteracy is growing. In Africa (where illiteracy is extremely high among both sexes), nine out of ten women still are illiterate. In Asia, female illiteracy rates range from 87 per cent in India to 52 per cent in Hong Kong; and even in Hong Kong, women are five times more likely to be illiterate than men. Generally, the higher the level of education, the lower the female enrollment. In Africa, some 20-30 per cent of female children attend primary school, but only 10-20 per cent of the secondary-school children are girls.[13] In South Asia, of the 2.5 per cent of the adult population that continues in school beyond the age of fourteen, about one-fifth are women. In Latin America, in contrast, where the percentage of adults who receive higher education varies from 2 per cent to 10 per cent, nearly half the students enrolled in higher-education institutions are women.[14] However, these few highly educated women remain limited in their options by the widely held belief that men and women have separate "proper spheres" in professional and public life.

In traditional rural pursuits, the lack of education was a relatively less serious problem. But that is changing as the modern sector invades the traditional sphere. Women in the markets, for example, are at a disadvantage because of their illiteracy and lack of knowledge of modern packaging techniques. The lack of education limits women's options even more severely when they migrate to the city. When they move with their husbands, they may be able to continue household crafts or petty trading. But trading on a small scale takes place within an established circle of customers; frequent moving can destroy a business. In some businesses, such as tailoring, women compete with men who have easier access to credit and therefore can provide a wider variety of fabrics. Lack of education is a handicap to these women. Dorothy Remy, who has studied the economic activity of women in Nigeria has commented that "without exception, the women in my sample who had been able to earn a substanital independent income had attended primary school. All of these women had learned to read, write, and speak some English."[15]

While married women find their economic independence severely limited in the towns of the less developed world, they at least have husbands to support them; life for unmarried women is more difficult. Surveys conducted in Dahomey indicated that from 25-30 per cent of women living in towns were on their own.[16] In Latin America young women migrate into cities in larger numbers than men, and some seek employment in domestic service or as shop assistants; more often, however, prostitution is mentioned as the primary means of subsistence. Other women fit into the uncounted interstices of the economy. They buy a pack of cigarettes and sell them one at a time. They cook food and hawk it on the street. Although male migrants, too, engage in this informal sector, they usually progress into the "modern sector," where they are included in employment statistics. For the most part, however, women continue to work at marginal jobs and remain uncounted, since these economic activities do not enter into that mythical standard, the "gross national product."

All this is not to say that education has not opened up some new occupations for women, particularly for middle- and upper-class women. Since most of the early education systems in colonial countries were run by missionaries who placed a high value on education regardless of sex, girls have had some access to schools. In many countries, nursing and teaching are considered respectable female occupations. In fact, there are more opportunities for women as teachers, nurses, and doctors in societies where sex segregation continues and men are limited in their contact with women than there are in less traditional societies.[17] As sex segregation is relaxed, however, making this "market" for female professional employment less exclusive, the number of women employed in these fields declines—providing yet another example of the negative impact of development on women.

In those areas of Southeast Asia and West Africa where trading traditionally has been the women's preserve, many educated women have retained their entrepreneurial role, adjusting successfully to modern market conditions. In Ghana, the major marmalade manufacturer is a woman. The strength of organized market women in Guinea and Nigeria has given them influence in affecting government decisions. In Jakarta, the wives of the higher-grade civil servants run shops and make jewelry. In Thailand, several large hotels are owned and run by women. In the Philippines, women are adept as real estate agents, stock-

[13] Kenneth Little, *African Women in Towns: An Aspect of Africa's Social Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 30.

[14] Boserup, *Woman's Role*, op. cit., p. 121.

[15] Dorothy Remy, "Underdevelopment and the Experience of women: A Zana Case Study," in Rayna Reiter, ed., *Towards an Anthropology of Women* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975).

[16] Margarita Dobert, "The Changing Status of Women in French Speaking Africa. Two Examples: Dahomey and Guinea," unpublished manuscript, 1974.

[17] Boserup, *Woman's Role*, op. cit.

brokers, and business managers; the fact that more Philippine women than men have attended private schools is a clear indicator of the value placed in that country on the ability of women to learn and to earn.[18]

Only in crisis situations, however, are women generally permitted by society to engage in economic activities that otherwise remain closed to them. In Vietnam, for example, women were forced to support their families through years of war. Marilyn Hoskins has pointed out that women in Vietnam traditionally have been pivotal in the family; thus any activity that ensures the family's continuity or aids in its comfort is socially acceptable.[19] Undoubtedly aiding in this acceptance are the many folk tales which portray Vietnamese women as heroines in the days before Chinese and French colonialism. A similar ability of women to respond to modern demands (more quickly than their husbands) is found today among the Yemenite migrants into Israel. Yemenite men, more circumscribed than women by carefully delimited roles, have difficulty adapting to their new surroundings, while the women, expected to see to the needs of their families, have moved into the modern economic sector and in many cases have become the major income producers in their families.[20]

Thus education has only partly countered the historic phenomenon typical of the earlier bureaucratic as well as the later industrial societies—assigning of women to the home. Those women who succeeded in obtaining a higher education during the colonial period usually could find jobs as easily as men, both because of the dearth of trained nationals and because the society itself was in a state of political and economic transition. An important factor enabling these women to participate was the existence of a supportive family structure in which kin and servants took over some of the women's household tasks and family responsibilities. Thus women played a prominent part in many nationalist struggles in Asia and Africa and were rewarded with high governmental positions in newly independent countries. The three current women prime ministers—of India, Sri Lanka, and the Central African Republic—have personal histories of political activity. In Latin America, women have entered such demanding occupations as law, medicine, and dentistry in larger numbers than in the United States.[21]

Today, unfortunately, the situation is changing. *Fewer* women are in parliaments or political parties than during the early days of independence; professional women in many countries are beginning to have difficulty finding good jobs. These setbacks mirror those experienced by women in the United States, where a higher percentage of women received doctoral degrees between 1910 and 1920 than at any time since, and where more women held professional and technical jobs in the 1930s than do now. Several explanations have been offered for such trends. First, as educational opportunities increase, more middle-class children attend college; and daughters of the middle class usually are more restricted by their families sense of propriety than are the daughters of upper-class families. Second, the entry of large numbers of men into the ranks of job seekers—particularly middle-class men who feel women should stay home—increases employment competition and decreases women's chances. Third, the governments in many newly independent countries have become more and more dominated by the military; while professional women sometimes do obtain high-level jobs in the bureaucracy, virtually nowhere do they do so in the military.

"Small implements such as presses, grinders, or cutters generally have been introduced to men, even when the work for which they are a substitute traditionally has been done by women."

Non-working women—whether educated or not—become more dependent on their husbands than those who have an income. While a dependent woman may have more status in the eyes of her friends because of her husband's job, many women resent the increased authoritarianism which tends to flow from dependency. Joseph Gugler writes about how such resentment has led to the radicalization of women in West Africa.[22] At the same time, however, *release* from the drudgery of farm labor makes dependency and even seclusion acceptable to women in many parts of Asia and Africa. While Western women look upon seclusion, or purdah, as an extreme form of

[18] Justin J. Green, "Philippine Women: Towards a Social Structural Theory of Female Status," paper prepared for the Southwest Conference of the Association for Asian Studies, Denton, Texas, 1973.

[19] Marilyn Hoskins, "Vietnamese Women in a Changing Society. Their Roles and Their Options," unpublished manuscript, 1973.

[20] Yael Katzir, "Israeli Women in Development: The Case of Yemenite Jews in a Moshav," paper prepared for the AAAS Seminar on Women in Development Mexico City, Mexico, 1975.

[21] Nora Scott Kinzer, "Destroying the Myth: The Porteña Professional," in Ruby R. Leavitt, ed., *Women Cross-Culturally: Change and Challenge* (The Hague: Moulton Press, 1975).

[22] Joseph Gugler, "The Second Sex in Town." *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1972), pp. 289-302.

backwardness, many lower-class women in the old bureaucratic societies perceive it as an improvement of status—an imitation of the upper classes. This process of changing life styles to emulate the class above has long been observed between castes in the Hindu hierarchy, where it is termed "Sanskritization." A study of purdah in Bangladesh indicates it has increased since independence from Great Britain.[23] In northern Nigeria, the attitude of Hausa women toward seclusion is influenced by religion and culture. Farming is carried on by Hausa women of the animist sect who cherish their freedom of movement and ridicule the secluded Hausa Moslem women who, on the other hand, appear to prefer to be kept in seclusion on the grounds that it reduces their work load and raises their prestige. Nonetheless, it has been noted that seclusion has the effect of separating the sexes and increasing the hostility of women toward men; this hostility creates a kind of female solidarity that is not channeled into activism but is expressed, for example, in ribald singing. Among the animist Hausa, "women play an obvious economic role, one that is recognized by the men." The result is social solidarity rather than sex division.[24]

Such increasing hostility between men and women may be responsible for the amazing rise in households headed by women. Around the world today, one out of three households is headed, de facto, by a woman. In the United States the figure is just under 20 per cent, but in parts of Latin America it is as high as 50 per cent; in Africa the end of legal polygamy has resulted in second wives being considered unmarried. The number of women-headed households is also growing in Asia, because the customary protection afforded divorced women and widows by family practices imbedded in traditional religions is breaking down. Migration patterns—a function of economic opportunity—also have led to an increase in women-headed households. In Africa the men migrate to mines, plantations, or cities. The 1969 Kenya census indicates that one third of rural households are headed by women; Lesotho estimates are even higher. In Latin America, in contrast, it is the women who migrate first, often living in urban squatter settlements and raising the children by themselves. Whatever the reason, planners persist in the stereotype of the family as headed by a man; this concept reinforces the idea that only men engage in economic activity and leads to unfair planning.

Modern laws and customs help create these women-headed households. Most countries in Africa have adopted laws making monogamy the only legal form of marriage. Second wives, who of course continue to exist, become "mistresses" and lose the protection that was accorded them under customary law. While Westernized African women argue in favor of the necessity for monogamy, many market women indicate a preference for polygamy. A survey conducted in the Ivory Coast in the 1960s showed that 85 per cent of the women came out in favor of polygamy! According to Margarita Dobert, the women believe that "in a monogamous marriage power accrues to the man as head of the household whereas formerly both men and women had to defer to the head of the lineage." Furthermore, co-wives shared the burden of household work and cooking; one woman could go off to trade while another stayed at home to carry out household tasks.[25]

Western law underscores women's major role as child rearing, treating women as dependents as far as property is concerned and generally awarding them custody of children in divorce. Thus modernization takes away women's economic roles while at the same time giving them the burden of paying for raising their children. Older religions such as Christianity and Hinduism avoided this problem by forbidding divorce; Islam and African animism allowed divorce but required men to assume the obligations of raising the children. By absolving men of the responsibility of caring for their children in case of divorce, recent legislation in Kenya has placed an oppressive burden on divorced Kenyan women.[26]

Women-headed households are also increasing in the Soviet Union. There the women are integrated into the economy, albeit at lower-level jobs, but their husbands are not sharing in household and family tasks. Women are rejecting not only marriage but also child bearing. It was interesting to hear Romanian officials at the U.N. Population Conference in Bucharest in August 1974 observe that concern over the falling birthrates in their country actually might have the effect of urging men to help more with the housework!

There is no clear relationship between family type and women's ability to work. Women-headed households generally are relatively poorer. In most countries, the women lack education and are forced to earn money in marginal jobs within or outside the modern sector. In the United States, divorced women generally must adapt to a standard of living cut by nearly a half; the majority tend to find jobs on the low end of the employment scale and receive inadequate child-support payments. At one time it was thought that the nuclear family would be the

[23] Hanna Papanek, "Purdah: Separate Worlds and Symbolic Shelter," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (1973), pp. 289-325.

[24] Jerome H. Barkow, "Hausa Women and Islam," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1972) pp. 317-28.

[25] Dobert, "The Changing Status of Women," op. cit., p. 7.

[26] Audrey Wipper, "The Roles of African Women: Past Present and Future," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1972).

prototype of the modern world. Women in the United States now complain of the restrictions of the nuclear family, at least where the partners are not equal. Yet several observers of Asian women have argued that the nuclear family is the primary liberating force from the patriarchal dominance of the extended family. Latin American observers, on the other hand, have suggested that the kin network that typifies traditional extended families actually allows for more equality of women because of the shared obligations and duties within the family.

In China, the traditional extended-family pattern has been the target of much criticism by the government, undoubtedly because that form has been so intertwined with the elitist bureaucratic form of government. All levels of society now are required to share the drudgery of hard labor; college students and party functionaries in particular are required to work periodically on farms or on massive public works projects. Government publications suggest that the ideal of equality has been achieved, but typically the military and bureaucratic leaders are almost entirely men.[27] Even the most influential Chinese woman today—Chiang Ching, wife of Mao Tse-tung—operates on the periphery.[28] Recent visitors to China have been impressed by efforts to achieve female equality. Nonetheless, even the Chinese delegates to the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women admit that the men in the outlying areas of the country have not yet understood that women are to be treated as equals.

"What is needed . . . is not an imported model, but rather an adaptation of development goals to each society—an adaptation that will ensure benefits for women as well as men."

Conclusion

In subsistence economies, the process of development has tended to restrict the economic independence of women as their traditional jobs have been challenged by new methods and technologies. Because Western stereotypes of appropriate roles and occupations for women tend to be exported with aid, modernization continually increases the gap between women's and men's ability to cope with the modern world. Elites in these countries are imbued with middle-class Western values relegating women to a subordinate place—values often transmitted by the industrial world's bureaucratic systems, which frequently reinforce such stereotypes in their own societies.

In the developed, "modern" world, women continue to experience restricted economic opportunities while at the same time finding increased family obligations thrust upon them. The strange contrast of this reality with the Western ideal of "equality for all" increasingly has made women aware of this injustice. Instead of docilely accepting their fate, women are becoming increasingly hostile, leaving marriage behind, and taking on the dual functions of work and family without the added burden of husband. A regress is overdue. Planners must not only consider and support women's economic activities but must also find ways of mitigating the drudgery of housework and the responsibility of child rearing. The roles assigned each sex must again be made more equal—with men as well as women accepting their dual functions of work and family.

For a time after World War II, there was great optimism about the ability of the world to proceed apace with economic development. Today there is a growing realization that development is a more elusive concept than had been previously thought. Even where countries are able to boast of a rising gross national product in the face of population growth, it is recognized that Western-style development approaches of the past have tended to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, both within countries and among countries. Not only women but the poor generally have been left out.

Not surprisingly, many economists are looking for alternative paths to development, and are showing an increasing interest in the experiences of such non-Western countries as the Soviet Union and China. In their impact on women, however, these non-Western models also are inadequate; in a sense they err twice, for while women's nurturing roles are deemphasized in favor of their economic roles, women continue to have access only to the less important economic and political roles. Clearly these models—whatever the impact of their policies on the women in their own countries—also cannot and should not be exported without major adaptation, or they too will undermine women's traditional roles. What is needed, therefore, is not an imported model, but rather an adaptation of development goals to each society—an adaptation that will ensure benefits for women as well as men. ■

[27] Joyce K. Kallgren, "Enhancing the Role of Women in Developing Countries, prepared for the U.S. Agency for International Development, 1973, mimeo.

[28] Rozne Witke, "Women in the People's Republic of China," speech presented before the Wingspread Conference on American Perspectives, Racine, Wisconsin, June 25, 1974.

APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY FOR WOMEN OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

by Elizabeth O'Kelly

EDITOR'S NOTE: As development programs move increasingly towards appropriate technology as an approach to improving the quality of life of the people of the Third World, the question looms whether such efforts will ignore (and thus have an adverse impact on) women, or whether appropriate technology can be directed specifically to the needs of Third World women.

Readers should note that in addition to this article on appropriate technology for women, Dr. Dorothy Remy of the Panel on Women in Development (page 57) addresses specific ways that Peace Corps might increase women's access to appropriate technologies.

THE AUTHOR: Elizabeth O'Kelly is a consultant in appropriate technology for development and serves as a member of one of the advisory panels of the Intermediate Technology Development Group. She was a speaker on appropriate technology at the International Womens' Year Tribune in Mexico City and at the World Food Conference in Iowa in 1976. The author of Aid and Self Help, Ms. O'Kelly has worked in rural development for almost twenty years; she founded both the Women's Corn Mill Societies in Cameroon and the Federation of Women's Institutes in Borneo.

The term "developing countries" is, of course, merely a convenient way of referring collectively to those countries whose economic development is not yet equal to ours in the West; in other respects the term is too wide to be of much use, for ethnically, culturally, and linguistically these countries differ as much from each other as we do in the West, and range in size from subcontinents, such as India with its population of 531 million, to small island republics like Haiti. There are wide variations in their degree of development and, in addition, many are hampered by endemic circumstances over which they can have little or no control, such as earthquakes, cyclones, floods, and droughts. Indeed, perhaps the only factor common to all of them is the need to raise their standard of living, especially in the rural areas where the bulk of their populations live. Thus this article deals only in very general terms with some of the problems that confront the developing countries, and especially their women.

When seeking to help these countries, albeit with the best of intentions, we quite often fall into the trap of assuming that a scheme which has worked well in one country can be transferred to another with equal success, despite the fact that a completely different set of social, religious, and sexual taboos may exist in this second country and that both these sets of taboos are likely to be very different from our own. Then, when our pre-fabricated square peg will not fit into the unexpectedly round hole we have found waiting for us, we set about reshaping the hole —we try to adapt people to our technologies instead of turning to forms more in keeping with their way of life.

Most frequently we fail to differentiate between a savings in manpower and a savings in labour. It is not "backwardness" which leads China and India to employ many thousands of people to perform tasks

which could be carried out more quickly by machines; rather it is the need to find employment for the many who, without it, will go hungry. Saving labour is the more important consideration of development. It is especially important in respect to women who now do so much of the heavy manual work in the developing countries and who could be spared some of the burden by the introduction of better farming implements, piped water, food processing machines, simple hand carts, and wind and water mills.

The failure on our part to acquaint ourselves with different culture patterns often extends to a failure to recognize the division of labour between the sexes which can be the key factor in a development programme. Men, for example, may wash the clothes, but in almost all developing countries the beast of burden will be the woman. Except where Islamic convention still confines women to the home, subsistence farming is almost entirely in the women's hands: fifty two per cent of the women in Asia and forty five per cent in Africa are estimated to be engaged in farming. The growing of the food which feeds the family is women's work almost everywhere, and usually only when farming is on a commercial scale does the man take part.

Back in the Stone Age it was women who dug for roots whilst their men were away hunting; it was they who tanned the skins the men brought back, and they who made the clay pots used for cooking and for carrying water; it was, in all probability, they who effected the gradual transition from a gathering to an agricultural community by planting the wild grain they found growing all around them. At a later period in history they farmed while their husbands stood by to protect the families from headhunters or slave raiders. The women therefore bring centuries of experience to this task, often taking full responsibility for the family where the men may be away for months at a time, even years, working on commercial plantations or in mines.

A woman's status in the community whilst she is the de facto controller of the land is high. What is needed is help to make this task less physically arduous for her by technologies within her means to pay for and to operate.

Even in countries where farming is large scale, as in parts of Southeast Asia where rice is exported, and even in Muslim countries where women do not take such an active part in farming, food processing is almost entirely in women's hands. Few people in the West, where food is purchased already processed and packaged, realise what an arduous and time consuming task this can be. The rice padi has to be hulled and winnowed, maize corn must be shelled and then often ground into flour, wheat, sorghum, and millet threshed, coconuts split, palm nuts crushed for their oil; cassava needs repeated soaking and yams require grating. Where the women are beginning to rebel against this type of drudgery and now carry their padi or corn to commercial firms to have it processed for them, malnutrition is on the increase. The large engine-turned machines remove too much of the vitamin content, and while consumption of polished rice may not be too serious in the West where it forms only a very small part of our diet, it is disastrous where it is the staple and sometimes the only food. The technology of the engine-turned machines is clearly *not* appropriate to the setting. Hand operated machines of various kinds already exist; these could do much to lighten the women's work in food processing. The important point is that they *should* be hand operated, both because this nutritionally desireable and because the machines will not then be regarded as mens' possessions.

Food storage is another area which is usually considered to be the women's concern and, here again, apparent improvements are not always as advantageous as they may seem. A good example can be seen in the zinc roofs which are increasingly replacing the old type of grass or matting roof in the villages. These roofs are, indeed, less of a fire risk. Yet corn can no longer be cured under the eaves by the smoke from the cooking fires, and the result of this is that much more of it is now destroyed by insects. Clearly this is an area where a truly appropriate technology —not merely an imported "improvement"—is called for.

"In many countries it is still considered improper for a woman to sit astride; where this is the case women will not use, say, a pedal-drive rice mill, however useful it might be to them."

The absence of a good supply of clean, drinkable water is a major hardship in many villages and is responsible for many unnecessary infant deaths. Firewood, too, is scarce, and the women often have to carry it from long distances. They may use dung instead of firewood as fuel, when the dung should be fertilising their fields. It is conditions such as these which are accelerating the drift to the towns, and appropriate technology could do much to remedy the situation. A scheme to pipe water into a village by gravity feed or to lift it by means of a hydraulic ram need not necessarily be costly and can often be built

by the people themselves, with the minimum of technical assistance from outside.

As women improve their farming techniques, additional strains occur. If their production rises they will need more help with the harvesting, which they will seldom get; they will need additional storage space, which they may not have; and they will need help with marketing their surplus if they are not to be cheated by the traders. Often they have had very little experience with handling money. They will, too, have to get their surplus to market, probably on their own heads. Clearly, there are ramifications to be considered even in the introduction of a technology or programme that appears to be completely appropriate.

We should also take special care to see that the programmes or technologies we introduce do not conflict with existing customs. In many countries it is still considered improper for a woman to sit astride; where this is the case women will not use, say, a pedal-driven rice mill, however useful it might be to them.

The problem also remains as to how to gain the women's confidence in the first place and how to get them to take part in rural development programmes in general, since without their cooperation these are unlikely to succeed. One way which has proved successful in several countries is to encourage women to band together to form a rural women's organisation. Activity is confined at first to groups in several carefully chosen villages, each within walking distance of each other; the movement gradually spreads outwards from these original groups as the idea takes root. Experience has shown that this is usually a better way of beginning than the alternative approach, which is to start at the top and work downwards. In the latter case the leadership will come from the more sophisticated women in the towns who, however well intentioned they may be, are not always familiar with the problems facing rural women —nor are these women always acceptable to the rural women. It is best to let the village women find their own natural leaders, even if these are illiterate. The help of nurses or teachers working in the village can be enlisted if paper work becomes a problem—but this should be kept to a minimum. As far as possible, the organiser of these village groups, at least to the district level, should be recruited locally: someone who knows who is who in the village and what the local customs are.

It is essential, however, if such groups are to succeed, that they have some immediate *practical* aim in view. The women will be far too busy to be interested, at this stage, in something which has a purely social or even instructional purpose. Badly as they will probably need classes in child welfare and hygiene, they will have little time for these until ways have been found of giving them more leisure. After that, an educational programme can be started. But at first they need to be offered something more tangible as an inducement, such as a sewing machine or a corn grinding mill or a hand cart or a water pump or a machine to hull padi, to be owned collectively by all the members in a village and paid for over as long a period as is possible so that its acquisition does not become a burden to them. This does not necessarily require much capital outlay. A revolving fund of only £200 in the Cameroons eventually supplied more than 300 villages with corn mills costing £20 each.

"Badly as they may need classes in child welfare and hygiene, [women] will have little time for these until ways have been found of giving them more leisure. After that, an educational programme can be started."

As these groups become established and the movement gathers momentum, they can be linked together into district and then regional and ultimately national formation. This then affords the opportunity for the more progressive groups amongst them to support the more backward, and makes it possible for their collective voice to be heard more effectively, on matters affecting women, than would be the voices of individuals. The existence of these groups, too, affords a focal point in each village with which such persons as extension workers from the various government departments can make contact. It is in part the absence of anything like this now which leads these agents to deal only with the men.

The presence of such an informed body of women can ensure the continuity necessary to sustain a rural development programme over that dangerous period when the helper from outside has to be withdrawn. It is at this stage that so many schemes collapse, at present. (It is a mistake to equate illiteracy with backwardness: although women are seldom admitted to agricultural schools and colleges, this is generally because they lack the necessary academic qualifications for admission through no failure on their own

part, but because few peasant families are able or willing to send their girl children to school. Most of these women are highly intelligent and receptive to new ideas; they are eager and willing to learn, and determined to give their children a better life than they themselves have had.)

It may be asked, "why not the men?" It is hardly a question of "not the men" but rather of attending to the women as well—a major segment of the population which has typically been ignored. Anyone with sensitivity who has worked in the developing countries will agree that only when we recognize the potential of the women are we likely to be able to raise the standard of living for the community as a whole. ■

. . . Although the developed and developing countries are expected to differ in training and educational level attained by their rural women, it was observed in practically all the countries studied that rural women were generally less well trained and had lower educational attainment than their urban counterparts. This fact limits their employability. Being engaged in agriculture is, therefore, not necessarily a choice on their part but is often a consequence of lack of alternatives.

For many farmers' wives, taking care of backyard and family plots and the seasonality of farming activities is more compatible with the fulfillment of their other roles as mothers and housekeepers. It is ironic, however, that a related observation by Hull in her study of the new Javanese rural middle class is that "the education systems seems to be geared to preparing people for civil service positions in towns and cities; a rural woman with a high school education feels she has no realistic goals or opportunities in the village. It is also clear, however, that there are not enough jobs even in the cities to absorb all the graduates of the school system. It is not surprising, then, to find that there was a prevailing attitude among middle class Maguharjo women that the only real justification for the education of young girls is to prepare them to be better mothers." She asks if education and other vehicles of modernization simply help "create a rural elite in which women will be less prepared to participate in development? Is the experience of formal education and contact with western ideas in fact associated with women becoming more dependent economically on their husbands; in becoming more oriented toward the nuclear family rather than a wider network of female kin and non-kin; in taking on many of the characteristics of urban life in their consumption patterns; in having larger family sizes because of freedom from traditional restrictions on fertility; in placing great emphasis on the maternal role and condemning working roles for mothers?" She suggests the need to evaluate the extent to which changing patterns among the middle class actually do represent "progress" or "regress" in relation to overall development goals and to the specific integration of women into the development process.

Hull's questions emphasize the confusion that arises if we have not properly defined what "integration of women into the development process" really means. Can it only be accomplished if large numbers of women work outside the home? Too often, all that has brought to women is a tremendously heavier work load and burden of responsibility. Is there no other way to define equal opportunities for reward and advancement, equal access to resources, equal sharing in whatever material or psychic benefits "development" offers?

—Gelia A. Castillo

THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY TO WOMEN: SOME ISSUES TO CONSIDER

by Allen Jedlicka

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following article is excerpted from an issue paper developed for the Small Technology Workshop at the Symposium on Women in Development in Mexico, 1975, held as a prelude to the International Women's Year Conference. Allen Jedlicka points out that most of the issues concerning the transfer of technologies to Third World women are social, political, and philosophical; his article outlines ten major issues that should be considered and discussed when appropriate technology projects for Third World women are in the planning stages.

THE AUTHOR: Allen Jedlicka served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Bolivia from 1965 to 67 as a community development worker. Since that time, he has taught, served as a researcher and consultant, and written many articles on the subject of appropriate technology and technology transfer, especially in Latin America; his studies at Northwestern University focused on that field.

At present, Dr. Jedlicka is completing a study in Honduras on risk-taking.

Unfortunately, the introduction of small or appropriate technology to women in developing countries is affected by a number of issues unrelated to women's ability to work with or understand the particular technology. These issues are non-technical and have little to do with the actual involvement of women with technology; yet they must be considered before new technology can be introduced.

On the following pages I have, to the extent possible, focused on those issues which seem to be universally generalizable to most Third World countries, yet not so general as to be worthless. Issues are presented in ten consecutive categories, each including several sub-issues not necessarily ranked in degree of importance.

I. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EXTENSION SERVICE

It has been my experience, based on observations of and work with small scale farmers in several Latin American countries, that the predominant, successful means by which technology can be introduced to either men or women is through the use of an effective extension service. We all know the creation of a good extension network is not easy. It requires time, money, and a significant investment into the training of extension agents who can effectively gain the trust and commitment of their charges, whether men or women. Yet without it we may be wasting our time in considering the role of women in the introduction and use of small technology in less developed countries. Thus, perhaps the primary questions must be:

(A) To what extent in any given country is there an existing extension program to diffuse technical innovations from Research and Development sources to men or women recipients?

(B) To what extent and in what ways can the existing extension services be adapted to include transfer of technical innovations to women if it currently services only men?

(C) If an extension service does not presently exist

in any given country can one expect that a viable extension service will be developed?
(D) If present extension services are lodged in the rural areas, can the network be expanded to include the transfer of relevant technologies to urban recipients at the household level?

II. GOVERNMENTAL POLICY WHICH RESTRICTS WOMEN'S ACCESS TO THE INTRODUCTION AND USE OF SMALL TECHNOLOGY.

(A) The variability of this issue is extensive, and possibly already overdiscussed, but the central question is: does the government, through its policy actions, restrict the entry of women into technological fields or in the use of technology?
(B) If women are restricted in the entry to technical fields is it because of an explicit anti-female policy by the various governmental officials, or is it because of a lack of funds to train both men and women?
(C) Is there a fear at the national policy level that women trained in certain technical fields will displace men, and create havoc among urban families whose breadwinners would have to compete with women?
(D) Can the government enact laws which will require the introduction and use of small technology to women?
(E) Assuming (D) is the route by which change will occur, will it occur through the support of the (probably male-dominated) government or will a female countervailing organization have to be developed to push for the necessary legislation?

III. CULTURAL CONSTRAINTS WHICH RESTRICT WOMEN IN THE USE OF SMALL TECHNOLOGY.

(A) Certainly cultural diversity and dictates throughout the world have affected the role of women in technology—not only in underdeveloped nations but also in developed nations. Even in the United States there are taboo technological areas such as engineering and the physical sciences where women, if they enter at all, must tread lightly and are usually tolerated but not truly accepted. If a highly advanced Western society such as the United States ascribes stereotypes of appropriate occupations for women, which in many cases are only beginning to be resolved by federal legislation, will a country whose culture is even more tradition-bound be willing to change its attitude towards women's involvement with technology?

(B) To what extent can we expect that a culture which stresses male domination in all aspects of life will rapidly change to allow participation in the use of small technology by women?

(C) Do some village environments have an existing cultural arrangement that recognizes women's rights? Would the existence of these rights in these environments make the introduction and use of technology by women easier to accomplish? Can these environmental characteristics be transferred to other male dominated villages?

IV. EDUCATION-RESTRICTION OF TECHNICAL TRAINING

To what extent does the educational system of a country specifically limit a woman's entry into small scale technology both as a recipient and as an instructor representing a technical institution?

V. THE EFFECT OF RELIGION UPON TECHNOLOGICAL ENTRY BY WOMEN

(A) To what extent does the predominant religion of the country restrict the entry of women into technological areas? Certainly some religions allow no participation by women in any national affairs, let alone technology.

(B) Is religion a constraint which is changing to allow more participation by women in this country or is it a constraint which will remain significant for some years to come?

VI. AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL TECHNOLOGY

The case for involvement in small technology in agriculture, to me, is one of the most immediately promising. There are several reasons. First in farming communities, at least in plough or peasant cultures, women and men have not excluded each other in productive activities but have worked together to produce necessary foodstuffs for the household. Both members, regardless of sex, contribute to the total economy of the household. With this predisposing reality, it seems that at least certain technologicies should be amenable to transfer to women.

(A) Is it true that women tend to be excluded as new agricultural technologies are introduced? For example, when tractor mechanization is introduced, is planting and cultivation done completely by men without the help of women?

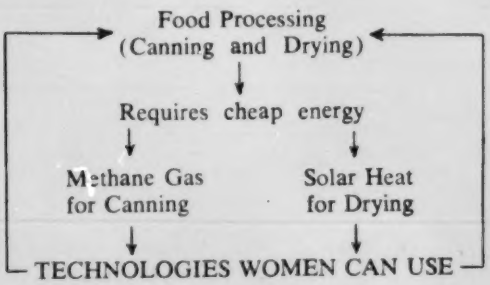
(B) The real issue may be that while women may become displaced in one area (planting and cultivation of crops), little technology has been introduced to them to allow them to continue to be productive.

It appears that much can be done in the area of introducting small technology to rural women that above all would not violate cultural and religious issues—under the assumption that women already

play a part in the productive activities of the rural household. There would have to be a governmental commitment to the support of the extension network which would introduce technologies to women.

For example, in one of my areas of expertise (energy systems which produce methane gas for cooking and heating from the anaerobic digestion of farmyard wastes), it would seem most appropriate to teach women how to control and maintain the systems. Because of the present day reality that women are more likely to be present in the household much of the day, they would be the most logical persons to maintain household methane systems.

Another technology which would be most amenable to control and maintenance by women would be solar technology—again because the machinery could be lodged near the household. Both of these technologies in turn could be used to aid in improved food processing techniques which would be fueled by the two household energy systems. A schematic of the interrelationship would look like:



This approach of course runs the risk of perpetuating a division of labor between the sexes and the creation of "female technologies" yet it may be a more realistic approach especially if one leans to the gradualist approach to changes; men may be more supportive of this arrangement than a proposal of equality across the board.

The point is that one can transfer many new technologies which, just on the basis of present day family structures, should logically be transferred to women, yet for the most part have not been.

(C) What is the reason why diverse and relevant technologies have not been transferred to women? Is it because male dominated rural strategists have failed to recognize that women play an essential part in rural productivity, and should be included in technology transfer programs?

(D) Would the inclusion of women on rural technology strategy groups ensure that women will be included in technological change? How can women become more than token members of such groups?

(E) Should male extension agents be taught how to transfer new technological innovations to women? Are there cultural taboos that will not allow men to instruct women?

(F) Should an equal number of female extension agents be trained to work with men on technology transfer? Can women be expected to be effective with both men and women in transferring new technology in the field?

(G) How can the government be persuaded that it is in its own interest to invest in the training of female extension agents and technologists?

(H) To what degree could efforts to introduce agricultural and rural technology in the school curricula further involve women, and for that matter men, in technology?

(I) Is it reasonable to expect that sufficient numbers of instructors, both men and women, could be rapidly trained to satisfy this need in rural areas?

(J) To what degree can rural women participate in the organization of rural technology improvement programs? In my mind there is a significant role for women.

My comments are largely based on observations of women working in the Plan Puebla in Puebla, Mexico. Plan Puebla is a subsistence agricultural improvement program operating in the State of Puebla, Mexico. One of the more innovative aspects of this program is the use of small farmer groups to transfer credit, fertilizer, and technology to village level recipients. Village women in that organization (admittedly a small but significant number) have been allowed to participate in the organizational meetings of the program on a par with the men and have been accepted by male members. They could play an even more significant role as organizers if we accept the view that women are more likely to be physically in the village, while men are more likely to be in the outlying areas. That is to say, if women were given the responsibility, they could organize meetings before extension agents come, and make sure all the members attended meetings, as well as contribute to the proceedings of the meetings. Additionally, they could attend to such matters as paying-off loans, making trips to banks, and so forth. It seems to me that women could easily play a larger and more significant role in the organizational aspects of introducing technology both to men and women.

(K) As rural women become more involved with technology, to what degree could some of their responsibilities for childcare be eliminated? Possibly in villages where the extended family is still maintained, grandparents could take care of children either informally or through a formal village childcare arrangement, freeing younger women for more intensive technological interaction.

VII. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A TECHNOLOGICAL RECEPTIVITY AMONG THE CHILDREN OF RURAL FAMILIES.

There is a significant argument that one of the reasons rural areas lag in development is that rural people have little conception of tools, technology, and their use. A possible solution, taking the position that women can play a significant part in bridging the gap in this area is the development of this technological receptivity in children by mothers. The primary constraint is that for women to be able to create this home environment, they will need some sort of training to understand the nature of tools and technology themselves.

(A) Can the training of rural women on the basics of tools and technology be brought about through extension services?

(B) Will such an effort require the training of a corps of women extension agents to train rural women?

(C) Could this training be achieved through teachers in existing rural school systems?

(D) Would rural women be willing to accept this innovative role in childhood rearing?

(E) Can the government be convinced that this is one mode of creating technological change at the village level and fund efforts in this direction?

VIII. THE EFFECT UPON WOMEN'S SELF CONCEPT OF THEIR ROLE IN THE FAMILY AS A FUNCTION OF GREATER INVOLVEMENT AND USE OF TECHNOLOGY.

(A) An interesting study of Chicano women in Los Angeles, California, who had recently immigrated from Mexico, indicates that these women felt they were not as worthwhile to their husbands and family once they began using such tools as ranges, blenders and so forth which greatly simplified the tasks they had done in Mexico without machinery. Producers of pre-packaged cake mixes in the United States found that the technological advantage of including powdered eggs to cake batter affected and disturbed many American wives' self concept as homemakers. Are these findings isolated events or can it be expected that further introduction to and use by women of technology will similarly affect women's self concept in Third World countries?

IX. WOMEN AND URBAN TECHNOLOGY

I believe that involvement with technology by women in rural areas, if only because of the conditions of relative independence that such households maintain, requires a woman to participate in the economic production of the household. Above all, she is not in competition for a job or involved with an occupation which may deprive a male of his ability to provide for his family.

As we all know, one of the principal problems of the major cities of the underdeveloped world is gross unemployment both male and female. Any effort to further involve women, particularly in low level technological areas, can be viewed as a threat to male job-seekers with the same technological abilities.

(A) To what extent would the encouragement and promotion of further involvement by women in urban technology and occupations displace men who were trained in the same occupation?

(B) Is it true that this kind of competition would result in hardships to families because men had been replaced by women or is this a spurious argument?

(C) If women were hired and trained in urban low level technical occupations, would it result in persuading families to stay in rural areas because of the total lack of possible employment in urban areas? That is, by encouraging women in cities and towns to compete with men in technological areas, could rural-urban migration be slowed because of the limitation of job prospects for newcomers from the countryside. Is this a developmental approach which is fair and right, and conducive to maintaining stability among the lower class citizens of a country?

(D) If the government did decide on Issue (C) as a national policy, both to be fair to women's rights and to try to limit migration to the cities, to what extent is the government prepared to change conditions in the rural areas to allow opportunities to these surplus workers, both men and women, who would be forced to return to rural areas?

(E) To what extent do traditional arguments that women are unreliable because they will leave their occupations to become married or have children, bear upon the role of women in urban technology?

X. ULTIMATE GOALS

The final issue I wish to mention is more philosophical, and is severely constrained by the fact that I am a man and not a woman. There is some confusion on my part, perhaps due to some of the rhetoric of the North American feminist movement, that concern for women's rights and role in society means concern that women must also be emancipated so that they can become creative and self-fulfilling. This goal of creativity and self-fulfillment eludes most North American men and women let alone women working in the rural areas of less developed countries. While I feel there is much that can be done to involve women in the uses of small technology, particularly in the rural areas of the world, these efforts may do little to liberate women—at least in the sense

that we have come to recognize in the feminist movement in the Western world. That is to say, rural women, by being included in technological changes, are not necessarily going to become creative, self-fulfilling people—any more so than men. In fact, they may be committed to even more drudgery because of the demands of increased productivity through technological acquisitions.

If this is true, then is the objective of women's role in development to ensure that both sexes are absorbed or equally trapped by the demands of improved technology or is the equalization of technological involvement only one of several steps leading to human liberation for both sexes? ■

. . . Women know hunger more than men, for in all societies and cultures, women serve men first, give them the best to eat, and provide for them more than other family members. It is common in countries of the developing world for women to prepare one meal for the men, and another of lesser quality for women and young children. In some places the women serve the men first then eat whatever is left. In some parts of the world women are forbidden to eat certain foods. It is difficult to trace the original reason for these food taboos, but they often involve foods high in protein, such as eggs and certain kinds of meat, which are important to women's nutrition, especially during pregnancy. Women and small children eat last, and least, and the poorest quality food. They do so by custom, without giving it a thought, with no feeling of deprivation. It has been their lot for centuries and they view it simply as a way of life to be accepted.

If times are good and all may eat their fill, then women's hunger may be satisfied. However, women may still not get adequate vitamins, minerals, and protein they need while bearing or nursing children. Malnutrition of women has serious consequences, especially for their children. The critical period in the formation of a new person occurs between the last three months of pregnancy and the first few years of life, the time a child is directly dependent on the mother for nourishment, in the womb and at her breast. Lack of the proper nutrition for the pregnant or nursing mother can stunt growth and cause disease in the child. For example, lack of protein during this critical period can result in a decrease in the number of cells formed in the child's brain and spinal cord, a loss of potential capacity which seems to be irreversible at later stages of growth. Debilitating anemia caused by lack of iron is common in pregnant and lactating women throughout the developing world. Deficiencies of Vitamin A cause loss of sight. Thus, malnutrition of the pregnant and lactating woman can mean limitations on the mental capacity of her child; malnutrition of the mother can result in the weakening of the system, making the child vulnerable to disease and often death. Roughly half of the babies in these countries never live to celebrate their fifth birthday. Malnutrition is the chief contributing factor.

Malnutrition of women, in addition to depleting the supply of critical nutrients which they, as mothers, provide to their children, also limits their own growth and saps their vitality. It is relatively common in developing countries to find serious cases of pelvic damage caused in childbirth because malnutrition stunted the growth of the bones during the woman's formative stages. Such cases are not widely mentioned, however, because women have been accustomed to accepting their fate. They have never known another. It is a serious fate, as well, for it often means that the woman may be cast out of her home and left without means of support because she is no longer able to bear children, the chief index in some societies of female productivity and worth.

—Maryanne Dulansey

PLACING WOMEN IN MALE DOMINATED JOBS (AND VICE VERSA)

by Gary S. O'Neal

EDITOR'S NOTE: Women in development is a broad issue, and programmers have many options as they begin to expand on Peace Corps' programs which impact on women. One option clearly is to develop programs in areas where Third World women and American women traditionally have common expertise: health education, maternal/child health, etc. A second is to recognize areas which are not part of the stereotypic role of the American female, but which have traditionally been the purview of Third World women, and to program female Volunteers to help upgrade their skills. A third option is the one Gary O'Neal writes about: programming male and female Volunteers in what are for both cultures truly "non-traditional" roles. While this last is clearly the most likely of the three to backfire, it provides the most "liberating" experience for all involved.

THE AUTHOR: Gary O'Neal served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Guatemala from 1963 to 1965, and on his return earned a Master's degree in overseas administration from the University of Oregon. Since then he has worked with VISTA, then with University Year for ACTION, and then returned to Peace Corps, serving in Costa Rica as Deputy Director in 1975 and Acting Director in 1976.

Mr. O'Neal is currently ACTION's Program Director for the State of Utah.

In Costa Rica we currently have seven women working in agricultural research and extension jobs. They are assigned to rural sites and work in the fields, almost entirely with Costa Rican men. To the best of my knowledge, there are no Costa Rican women working in similar positions in the country. Six of the Volunteers have been in the field for nine months, and one for 18 months. They are without exception doing very well, and have encountered no problems, either job related or social, which they could not handle.

Similarly, we have the first male nurse ever assigned to the Public Health Service in Costa Rica, and have received word that another male nurse has accepted an invitation to a projected training class. Our nurse holds mother/child clinics, performs gynecological examinations, and delivers babies (on occasion). He is well accepted in the community, and has had no problems during his first eight months of service.

In both of these cases we are forging into tabooed territory. *Why* are we doing this, and *how* have we been successful?

The "why" is easier to answer. Costa Rica is rapidly changing and its traditional customs and values are constantly being tested and modified. Much of this development seems to parallel that which has taken place in the United States, but with a time lag of five to ten years. After considerable thought—and some soul searching—we decided it was appropriate for the Peace Corps to begin experimenting with reverse-role job placement, to open up fields previously the purview of one sex.

This was not an easy decision. I am not sure Peace

Corps should do the same in Iran, or even among the highland Indian cultures of Guatemala. Meddling with social and cultural values is not a matter to be taken lightly. Anyone who thinks *our* society has all the answers in this area ought to open his/her eyes a little wider. Moreover, many Latin Americans, and

"It all depends on your staff."

I suspect other foreign nationals, would tell us that their social customs are their business, and that we ought to eliminate discrimination and violence in our own country before preaching to them. Nevertheless, after considering a wide range of factors, the decision was made to push ahead in Costa Rica.

The "how" is easy to discuss, but more difficult to implement. Once the decision had been made to go ahead, we had to convince our program staff that it was the right thing to do. Not only did we want them to feel good about it, but to be convinced that it would work. Their job was the hardest; they had to convince host country agency staff to place people in jobs without regard to sex, and this sometimes was difficult. In the case of our agricultural positions, they used the argument that the fill rate would be low unless women were accepted. In the case of the male nurse, the fact that we were providing a large number of Volunteers to the Ministry of Health provided some leverage.

I believe Peace Corps staff who are host country nationals are best able to do this type of work, especially if they are innovative and not opposed to change. They will be respected in their fields and have a wide variety of contacts throughout government and the private sector. When they suggest something, people will listen and reflect upon what they have to say. North Americans, with limited experience in the host country, are severely handicapped in this type of work.

What I am suggesting is this: If you really want to place women in male dominated jobs (and vice versa), you must be sure your host country national staff are committed to change and respected in their fields. When you have hired the right kind of staff, it will probably be difficult—but not impossible—to convince them that they should program Volunteers without regard to sex. Once they are willing to give it a try, make sure the "male or female only" designations are removed from your TAC sheets, and recruitment will take it from there. ■

. . . Human beings are the most important resource—in fact the central resource—for development. Human beings are, at the same time, both the agents and the beneficiaries of economic and social development. The quality of the societies they develop will be determined by the extent to which they themselves are involved in the process of change.

Fifty percent of the human resources available for development are women. And yet the majority of these have been largely excluded from development in most countries of the world. Although this exclusion can be explained there is no longer any excuse for the absence of remedial measures. Their effect may be gradual or rapid but it is imperative that the problem be faced squarely. Otherwise, not only women, but families, communities, nations, and the world will suffer.

—Ester Boserup and Christina Liljencrantz

THE YOUNG WOMEN OF NEPAL'S NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT SERVICE

by Lee Eavy

EDITOR'S NOTE: From the Volunteers Gazette of Nepal, the P&T is reprinting the following article, taking a look at Women in Development from the point of view of domestic volunteers of Nepal—young women from the city, part way through a Master's degree program, for the first time interacting with the traditional rural women of their own country.

THE AUTHOR: Lee Eavy was a Peace Corps Volunteer in Nepal from 1974 to 1976; during that time, he also served as managing editor of the Volunteer Gazette, an unusually fine newspaper cooperatively produced by the volunteers of the export and domestic volunteers services in Nepal.

Nepal's National Development Service volunteers are young people, with young ideas and ideals, and they are eager to work and experience more meaningful lives in the common cause of helping to develop Nepal's resources and civilization. The National Development Service (NDS) was inaugurated in the fall of 1974, and is now in its second year of full operation. University students wishing to earn a Master's degree are required to give one year's service working in development within their own country at the village level, outside of the main centres of modern society. This year of service is spent between the first and second years of the two-year Master's degree program, making a total of three years of work to obtain the desired degree. The year of service involves two months of pre-service training in Kathmandu, and 10 months of service in the village, with a compulsory minimum of 280 days of duty on the post.

The purpose of the NDS program is two-fold: personal development and national development, with volunteers becoming acquainted with their own country and fellow citizens in the different parts of Nepal, and sharing the knowledge and talents they have obtained through a good education in various development programs. Technical support and advice come from the central office of NDS at Tribhuvan University in Kirtipur, but all material support for projects in the villages must come from the local resources. All NDS students teach at schools as part of their jobs, but that only constitutes 25 per cent of the assignment. Although they teach an average of 24 class hours per week, it is expected by the officers of the program that 75 per cent of their work and involvement will be for local village level development projects. NDS students are involved in such projects as adult education, health instruction, agriculture, construction of sanitation facilities and teaching home economics to the village women. At present there are 89 women and 331 men in the NDS program. The intention of the NDS directorate is that women be sent out of the urban area and far from the family connections.

In preparation for writing this article, I had the pleasure of interviewing several young women presently serving their year of service in NDS. These women were enthusiastic about their work and demonstrated real concern for the plight of the village people they are living with on a close basis. As most NDS students are from the larger cities and richer families, they are experiencing the daily life of the

majority of Nepal's people at a much more intimate level than would otherwise be possible for them to do.

These women have a special role to play in the development of Nepal and its culture. With the increasing emphasis on the improvement of the rights and position of women in the society, the NDS women are in the enviable position of being examples of what the educated woman can do to improve the lot of her own society and country. They are living proof that the education of women is a very valuable and important consideration for the future of Nepal. As it is customary for Nepalese women to maintain the households of their families, they have a strong influence on the future course of development. When the village woman sees good examples of what an educated woman can accomplish, she will have added incentive to ensure that her own daughters receive an education, if at all possible.

"When the village woman sees good examples of what an educated woman can accomplish, she will have added incentive to ensure that her own daughters receive an education if at all possible."

NDS women also have the opportunity to prove the value of women to the traditional resisters of women's equality, the Nepali men. This they accomplish by actually doing the work that is needed. Small deeds have much more effect than large words.

The life of the NDS woman is certainly not all smooth sailing, by any means. Coming from the more modern city life they encounter old traditions that may have lost significance to them. Here in the village they must adapt; they must recognise the local taboos and peculiarities of their assigned village. This includes such practices as not walking alone at eventide, and not associating with certain people of the village. They are in the most awkward position of all Nepali women, being single and 20 to 22 years of age on the average, and they may be looked upon with some distrust and apprehension. Is it possible, for example, that some more conservative elements of the village would think they want to cause a disruption of the traditional roles of men and women, and would resent and perhaps even try to obstruct projects? This calls for tremendous understanding and skill on the part of these educated NDS women.

These women must be careful to protect their personal reputations, especially in regard to the marriages that they most certainly want to make in the near future. To this end, the policy of posting units of two or three women together in one village is seen as very helpful and provides needed peer group support at times of stress or problems. This policy undoubtably creates strong friendships and helps to alleviate the effects of their separation from their families for the term of service.

As of this writing, it seems that the interviewed women have been able to overcome these difficulties and they enjoy a very good relationship with their counterparts in the schools where they teach and in the larger environs of the villages where they live and do the major part of their work.

Nepal is in the process of tremendous change, and the women in programs such as NDS will play an increasingly important role in these changes and development. The women of NDS are in the forefront of the future development of Nepal. ■

A HOST COUNTRY PERSPECTIVE: LIGHTENING THE DAILY BURDEN

by Marie Touré N'Gom and Pierrette Posmowski

EDITOR'S NOTE: In the following interview, Marie Toure N'Gom talks about the life of the women of the Sahel in terms of traditions and development; she discusses the need for health education to teach women how to prevent illness and malnutrition in their families, and the need to find ways to lighten the daily work load.

THE AUTHOR: Marie Toure N'Gom is a Senegalese nutritionist whose work in the countries of the Sahel region brings her into contact with thousands of African women. She is interviewed by Pierrette Posmowski, editor of UNESCO Features, from which the article is reprinted.

You are responsible at the UNICEF office in Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, for an aid programme covering seven drought-afflicted countries of the Sahel: Chad, the Gambia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Upper Volta. What are conditions like at present in these countries, particularly for women?

The women's burden was certainly heaviest during the terrible catastrophe we suffered. Among the worst hit by the effects of the drought were pregnant women, nursing mothers and children under five who make up part of what we call the 'vulnerable groups.' Conditions are a little better since it started raining and our efforts are now being directed to a rehabilitation programme for the land, livestock, environment and the people themselves. We advise families on how to balance their diets, helping them as much as we can. But this doesn't mean the emergency is over. We still face many problems, the most worrying of which is the high rate of infant mortality.

Just how high is it?

Fifty per cent of the children die before they reach the age of five. It is not uncommon to meet a woman who has had nine children of which only one or two have survived.

The primary cause of infant mortality is malnutrition of all kinds, as well as infection and inadequate hygiene in regard to water and living arrangements. Most often the afflicted families have no idea of how to prevent illness and malnutrition. Even the better off don't know the rules for a balanced diet.

So what counts most for the women is to acquire the knowledge needed to protect their families?

Yes, to save the children and to lighten their daily burden. And when I say burden I mean a plethora of tasks ranging from housekeeping to working in the fields and including fetching wood and water, doing the marketing, and selling fish when they are not obliged to stay with a sick child at a traditional healer's or a maternity and infant protection centre.

Unhappily, we suffer from a lack of public health facilities; where they do exist, women often do not know how to avail themselves of them or else they may be miles from a centre that could look after their child, provide maternity care or help them deal with health and food problems.

But you still have your traditional remedies and practices?

Some of them are excellent, and, happily, are still alive. Such food as the fruit of the baobab and tama-

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rind trees and cashew nuts, among others, have therapeutic qualities. The fruit of the *ditakh* bush, for example, is effective in treating diarrhoea and gastro-enteritis. These home remedies, made from local produce, have the added advantage of being cheap. The World Health Organization is very interested in this traditional pharmacopoeia.

On the other hand, some practices have bad effects. Thus village midwives cut the umbilical cord with instruments that have not always been sterilised. Or the woman gives birth lying on the bare ground or even in the fields. In such cases puerperal or tetanus infection is not uncommon. There is certainly a need to study traditional practices and to do so would not require much in the way of funds or personnel.

How do you see the future?

The time for theorizing is past.

Action is possible at all levels. We who have had the good fortune to receive a modern education are a privileged minority among African women. What is now needed is to redirect part of our knowledge to aiding rural women in matters of health and hygiene, domestic economy, educating their children and—why not?—taking part in public life, first at the village, and later at the national, level. We have the cadres—teachers, midwives, physicians, social workers—and we are equipped to bring about some changes within the family. But, as I said, we must go to the villages and discuss, together with the women there, what is good and what is bad in our traditions.

Whatever our field of activity, all of us are in touch in some way or another with women, children and young people. We can help to change their living conditions. But this cannot be done unilaterally. We must co-operate with men also, so everyone concerned understands the situation and is motivated by a similar desire for change. Otherwise, one is bound to fail.

And government support must be won, too?

Certainly. But I think that national development plans clearly reflect the will of the governments to improve social and economic conditions. What is needed is that women's rôle in the development effort should be institutionalized—in other words, that it should be given concrete recognition at the planning level. ■

"... if one could single out the main factor that has precipitated interest in the education and training of women, it is probably the critical shortage of food supplies. Labour-force statistics are beginning to show the significant extent to which women are actively responsible for food production in different parts of the world. This applies particularly to countries where subsistence agriculture is the main source of livelihood."

—UNICEF

"OUT OF THE GARDEN, BACK TO THE KITCHEN"

by Patricia K. Buckles

EDITOR'S NOTE: Volunteer Patricia Buckles wrote to Peace Corps/Washington recently with a request for support for a study project examining the role of rural women in Guatemala; possible programs which would benefit these women; the impact of existing programs on these women; and host country institutions interested in the issue of women in development. Her letter described the effect that general lack of knowledge of women's roles and lack of interest in designing programs to increase women's productive roles was having on a Peace Corps school gardens and nutrition program.

The Volunteer perspective which Ms. Buckles's letter, printed below, examines should prove of great value to staff throughout the Peace Corps world.

THE AUTHOR: Patricia Buckles joined the Peace Corps in 1973; she has been a Volunteer in highland Guatemala since that time, working first in the school gardens and nutrition program and now serving as an evaluator examining impact of a potable water system installation on the lives of rural women.

I was invited to participate in the highland Guatemala school gardens and nutrition program in 1973. After completing two years with that program, I was asked to continue as a Volunteer in a rural potable water and latrine program to do evaluation research, specifically to examine the impact of a potable water system installation on the lives of rural highland Guatemalan women.

Data collection has been difficult both to design and to execute. It has become obvious to me that very few people really know the role the Guatemalan woman assumes in either her family or her community. Fewer have any idea what types of programs could be designed to increase her productive role *within her cultural milieu.*

This problem became more evident to me while listening to the "third-generation" school gardens and nutrition Volunteers complained about a directive ordering them, more or less, out of the garden and back to the kitchen. They had been told that for cultural reasons women should work with women and men with men, in the traditional roles defined by the culture.

The women in this group have more often directed their efforts to teaching gardening to the men than to teaching nutrition education to women's groups. Few have organized women's groups or given instruction in food preparation. If food preparation is taught, it is presented as a demonstration on an ad-hoc basis. Few efforts are made to have women's groups serve as channels for the introduction of innovative practices or for training in productive skills; even fewer attempts are made to "institutionalize" women's groups or to implement theories of group dynamics to raise the rural woman's consciousness of her very important role in her family and in her community.

This had been the pattern for many "first generation" PCV's in the School Gardens and Nutrition Program. Why do these problems persist?

I believe that there are several reasons why the women PCV's in this program persistently choose to work in the garden instead of the kitchen as the program was designed:

The garden is a tangible achievement and lends greater satisfaction than teaching nutrition theory—

which may or may not be practiced by those receiving the class. In the same vein, evaluation concentrates on the fruits of labor and not on the transferrence of skills. It is always asked, "how many gardens or how many classes given?" No one asks "how many counterparts trained or how do the recipients feel about the program?"

Working directly with women is extremely difficult because of the language barriers. Many Mayan dialects are spoken in the highlands, and while most men have a basic knowledge of Spanish, many women do not.

Nutrition and health are often seen as extensions of homemaking. To some extent they are; however, Volunteers lack the knowledge of existing customs in relation to the home and often do not feel the changes they are to recommend are valid or will have any impact in improving the life of the rural woman. Also, it is extremely difficult for a "gringo" woman who has never had a child to gain the "confianza" of rural women so that they will accept her nutritional recommendations as valid.

The Volunteers are young college graduates and tend to be very much attuned to the importance of technical skills in helping women to become more functional, productive members of their families and their communities, yet teaching embroidery and how to make cakes is what is often requested by women's groups. These are skills which were "sold" by missionaries and the women ask for them because they know no other skills, nor have they been told that they may learn skills such as chicken production or animal husbandry, which could have significant monetary rewards.

The Volunteers would like to set an example for the rural women.

I am inclined to support the premise of the directive issued to the school gardens and nutrition Volunteers. Culturally, agriculture is not part of the Mayan woman's traditional role. In more isolated areas, taboos prevent women from placing even one foot on land during the planting season. However, gardening in many cases is a completely new type of agriculture and it is doubtful that the same taboos exist for planting vegetables as exist for planting the sacred corn. Also, there exist many exceptional communities where, with the right approach, men can be taught nutrition and women can be taught gardening. It is even possible that since the home garden is usually a tiny plot of land near the house, its care enters in the woman's routine. This facet of the program is certainly worth investigating before mandates are issued prohibiting this kind of participation by women Volunteers.

In cases where the involvement of women in gardening activities is culturally impossible, the Volunteer may find it more rewarding to begin with improving existing routines in which women function already, rather than introducing new ones. For the Volunteer uncomfortable with teaching child care and nutrition there are areas such as chicken raising, egg production, and animal husbandry. These fall within the Mayan woman's area of competence and responsibility. Administrators should be considerably more sympathetic toward women Volunteers who believe rural women should play a more productive role within their households.

At the sector level there is a serious neglect of programming such that women can become seriously involved in areas such as food production—including animal husbandry as well as agriculture. The present, traditional role of host country women must be examined on a country by country basis in view of designing programs that will include women both as participants and as beneficiaries in the development process. ■

ON AN INTEGRATED MEDICAL APPROACH TO MALNUTRITION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

by Katherine Healy

EDITOR'S NOTE: One of the traditional responsibilities of women the world over is the health of the family. Work in this area is an obvious area for increased Peace Corps input of female Volunteers, and one focus should be on the problem of malnutrition, a major cause of illness and death in the Third World. From her experience in Upper Volta, Kas Healy here suggests an approach to malnutrition integrating efforts in the many critical areas that cause malnutrition such as agricultural practices, local customs, water supply, and education.

THE AUTHOR: Kas Healy is currently pursuing studies in nursing science at the University of Montana. In addition to her Volunteer experience in Upper Volta, she has worked as a ranch hand, driven a taxi, planted trees for the forest service, and served as a supervisor in a convalescent care facility.

Sixty-five percent of all children under the age of five in Upper Volta show clinical symptoms of malnutrition. Approximately thirty-five percent of the children here under five will die before attaining their sixth year, and although the cause of death may be attributed to a disease, lung congestion, heart failure, measles, or malaria, malnutrition will have played *the* preponderant role in these mortalities. Malnutrition can be thought of as one of the most serious endemic diseases in Africa today. It cannot be categorized with natural catastrophies, such as famine, drought, pests, etc. but rather with diseases with a set of causes, symptoms, and possibly a cure.

To effect a cure for any disease you attack the causes. Unfortunately the causitive factors of malnutrition are not as clearly a medical problem as would be a virus or bacteria. The origins of malnutrition are found in agricultural practices, local customs, water supply and degree of education of the people. These factors can't be cured with antibiotics or prevented by vaccination. The etiology, as a matter of fact, does not lie strictly within the medical sphere. Unhappily this does not make the disease any less deadly. The symptoms are much more easily bracketed in the realm of medicine. They range from wasting, edema, diarrhea, and vomiting, to mental retardation, physical stunting, increased susceptibility to other diseases, and a gradual weakening of vital organs and systems. Perhaps it is because it's so convenient to class these symptoms under 'medicine' that malnutrition has been treated, until fairly recently, on a *symptomatic* basis, with the majority of aid dollars going toward food and grain donations, and medical supplies. Unfortunately, treating the symptoms does not cure the disease. At best, these donations only serve to alleviate, temporarily, a very small part of the problem for an even smaller number of people. At worst, they create a dependent, charity mentality and obscure the real issue: eradication of the disease.

In the majority of Third World nations afflicted by this disease, the problem is not starvation from

lack of food but malnutrition, which stems from inefficient, improper use of existing resources. The objective of the development agencies and national policies should be an integrated approach to eliminate the disease.

With this rationale in mind, Dr. Francois Gourier, the head of the medical sector of Yako, and Quedraogo Adolphe, chief of Koaltenguin, an Upper Voltan village on the edge of the Sahel, got together and decided that a health unit would be of value to both the village and to the medical services of the area. A Peace Corps Volunteer would act as liaison and manager of an *integrated* program comprised of ten points:

1. The education of women to become lay teachers (monitrices) within the village to teach nutrition and hygiene at a monthly public session;
2. Election by the village of a woman to be trained in progressive mid-wifery techniques at the local hospital (18 k. distant) and subsequently to be in charge of the maternity facility;
3. Election by the village of a person to be trained by the Volunteer in first-aid to be in charge of the dispensary on a voluntary basis;
4. Introduction of an anti-malarial and vaccination program run through the dispensary;
5. Construction of a three-room building to house a dispensary, maternity room, and grain storeroom;
6. Construction of wells of the standard type Peace Corps Volunteers promote (up to five in number);
7. Formation of a reforestation program;
8. Development of a communal garden;
9. Establishment of a chicken cooperative; and
10. Development of nutritional and other assorted surveys.

The village population of roughly 200 families, spread over an area of two square miles, are agriculturally oriented and come from the same ethnic group. Economically, family incomes are on or below the national average, sometimes described as the poor and the less poor. The climate is hot and dry with a rainy season lasting three months. Since the water soon disappears, even when it does rain the proper amount, the country is subject to drought. The land has been systematically de-forested and is now in an advanced state of erosion. During the dry season water comes from hand-dug dirt wells that are an average of 45 feet deep by the end of the season. They are re-dug and deepened yearly as the water table drops and /or the sides crumble. Two-thirds of the wells are dry four to five months after the last rain and remain dry until the next rain, about four months away. The main crops, millet, ground nuts, okra, cotton, and beans, are farmed in family groups for subsistence. Animal traction is seen infrequently, usually among the "wealthy" progressive families, such as the chief of the village. As for literacy, 90% of the adults have had no formal schooling and approximately 80% of the children have had little or none.

The past year I had helped establish and operate a malnutrition clinic for treating young children and educating their mothers to more nutritious preparation of available food. Dr. Gourier knew I would accept a new challenge. I wanted the chance to work more closely with the roots of malnutrition in a more ambitious project. The following are the guidelines I used during a frenetic year of activity selecting and training health personnel, constructing wells, health and agricultural facilities, and promoting agricultural extension programs.

Health Care Workers

Two women were chosen by the people of every *quartier* (neighborhood) to become monitrices. I usually took them in groups of two to four for a one-week period of intensive education. The elders of the quartier attended the teaching sessions with the women. Thus they never lost face by being less educated than the women, *and* when the women's health recommendations were ignored they were able to rely on the elders to influence effecting the request. Arrangements for the training were made through consultations with the chief and elders. In fact in any project I went to the chief with everything I felt should be done, asking for suggestions and implementation through him. Through his understanding, more sophisticated than most, and his influence and respect in the village, plans could be implemented.

After a week at the Yako Nutritional Center in a work-study group, the women were ready to begin their functions:

1. Present nutrition-hygiene demonstrations for their quartier. The quartiers alternated putting on demonstrations on market day, every third day, about such subjects as supplemental feeding and porridge recipes. Featured discussions would be the nationally-sponsored anti-malarial and vaccination projects, programs that need propagation and coordination on the local level.
2. Aid the dispensary volunteer in enrolling children in anti-malarial and vaccination programs, distribute Nivaquine weekly during the malarial season and assist in administration of ear, eye and nose drops.
3. Provide pediatric services. Monitrices distinguish between a healthy and a malnourished child and

at the earliest sign of malnutrition give special education and attention to the family and afflicted child; they follow up on the children of their quartier most likely to experience nutritional distress (orphans, twins, children of mothers who didn't have enough breast milk), as well as those who had spent time at the hospital nutritional center for severe malnutrition.

Had I worked a third year I would have organized the women to take more and more active responsibility for practical technique *and* administration as a natural extension of their new functions.

Midwives

Two mid-wives were chosen by the chief and myself with the consent of the elders. Judicious choices were made—one was the chief's favorite wife and the other read, wrote, and spoke French—an education unusual in a village woman, but valuable for such a position. The two women were sent to the sector hospital maternity for an intensive two week course by Dr. Gourier and the hospital mid-wife, after which they returned to the village to administer the maternity section of the health unit. Their functions included:

1. Prenatal care;
2. Labor and delivery care;
3. Recording of the births and the deaths in a government registry; and
4. Immediate enrollment of children in the vaccination-anti-malarial health program.

A young man I taught to be a "dispensary volunteer"—a bush nurse—would serve as my replacement and would be paid by the hospital. His functions included:

1. Simple first aid;
2. Surveillance of all existing and planned programs;
3. Liaison between the hospital and villagers; and
4. Manager of the health facilities.

Construction Projects

Design and location of the health unit was decided by the elders and responsibles of the village in conjunction with me. The location was *strategic*—directly behind the market place, central to the village and between two of the new wells we dug. The design was as close as possible to the indigenous architectural system—round huts with straw roofs in a circular, walled formation with the center of the circle being a court yard and living/working space. The difference between the health 'concession' and family 'concession' was the quality of materials. We had cement floors, 7% cement bricks, cement mortar, and real windows and doors that fit and locked. This design was an improvisation on what has been used for hundreds of years. It is efficient and comfortable and suited to both landscape and environment. The people recognize and are at home with it. The *one* exception is the rectangular storage building. However, it is more efficient for storing the grain sacks and you often find a rectangular hut in a family concession.

"The location of the health unit was *strategic*—directly behind the market place, central to the village and between two of the new wells we dug."

An addition was made to the original plan in that a model living and livestock (chickens and pigs) unit was joined to the health unit. This facility was for the dispensary volunteer and his family, and would provide an example to the village of a more progressive, healthful, and productive living environment.

A total of 3600 bricks were determined necessary for the construction. Using a hand-press, furnished by the hospital, the villagers made about 70 bricks a day using a mud and 7% cement mixture, under the direction of the chief and elders. Whenever I started to work, I was given help—for instance, in loading cement bags on a truck, etc. No self-respecting man in sight would allow me to do such work unassisted. Thus, I was never at a loss for willing workers in projects where I pitched in. Construction of the buildings was supervised by a skilled mason from a neighboring village; he was employed by the chief and paid by the hospital ($125). He also did the carpentry for the doors and windows ($40). The rest of the labor was shared voluntarily by the villagers.

Because I was unable to obtain the standard assistance provided to Wells Volunteers by Peace Corps, I borrowed instructional materials from Wells Volunteers, solicited the building materials from the hospital, and surveyed locations with the agricultural agent to determine the ownership, age, water production, and geological properties of all existing 138 indigenous wells in a five-square kilometer area. We dug three new standard Peace Corps wells: I trained and paid a mason from the village and the labor was provided voluntarily by the village people (especially after I dug for several hours) under the direction of the chief. Two of the wells were central to the village; and the third was in an outlying quartier.

Agricultural Extension

One hectare area near the market place, was fenced with barbed wire and planted with fast-growing shade trees (300 nimes and 100 acacias); the villagers worked with me to put up fencing, provided by the hospital. Under the direction of the village chief the villagers planted and tended trees, from the reforestation division of the sector, *throughout* the dry season. Eighty percent of these trees survived through the rainy season. A survey of the village was made to determine how many, what kind, and where villagers would plant fruit trees; an order for 700 trees, oranges, lemons, mangoes, and guavas, was made by interested parties in the village. This ultimately would lead to another boost to nutrition.

I also began a chicken vaccination cooperative, in conjunction with the village agricultural agent, a French agriculture volunteer and the hospital. As the agricultural worker became interested in the village programs, he became very responsive to project needs; he would give educational lectures on more progressive poultry elevation. Vaccination against cholera and plague was paid for by the village coops (organized in groups of 200 chickens)—usually in chickens, not francs.

Communal gardens were planned, and would be planted during the rainy season (after I left). Location was determined by convenience to village, to wells, and accessability for supervision by the dispensary volunteer.

Projections for future projects and conclusion

There was still a lot of work to do at the end of that year, changing and rearranging and ironing out bugs. During a third year, these are some of the things I would have tried to get into:

1. Organizing and integrating all facets of the health and living units;
2. Deepening the three new wells;
3. Organizing the communal garden and using it as a teaching ground for youth;
5. Continuing and expanding the small livestock programs;
6. Continuing and expanding the education of all personnel; village authorities and interested adults;
7. Planning financial independence of the center to pay the dispensary volunteer from center resources, provide money for gas needed in ambulance evacuation, and maintain the unit's budget; and
8. constructing public and private outhouses!

Before leaving I discussed the above with my counterpart, the chief, Dr. Gourier, and the French volunteer and her counterpart, who were to visit Koaltenguin on a monthly, supervisional basis.

Throughout the year assistance came from many sources. However, my consistent guiding principal was to assess what we've got and make it work for us. That goes for mud for bricks, money for gas, indigenous architecture, and old wives tales: use what you've got closest at hand. ■

. . . A major obstacle is the difficulty of convincing government planners and development economists that the benefits of improved nutrition are profitable economic input, no less important than capital investment. Many of the benefits of nutrition, particularly the more diffuse and intangible, have neither been translated into the statistical language of policy makers nor given the visibility needed for priority planning. Data on birth and death rates, protein and caloric intake are difficult to collect and observe over extended periods of time. Cost/benefit analyses, where they exist, rarely reflect the full benefits of adequate nutrition due to faulty processes of data collection and the inherent complexities of quantifying the return on human investment. Therefore, a first possible step toward a higher priority for nutrition programs is a more concentrated and thoughtful assimilation and use of relevant statistics.

—National Council for International Health Conference

CRAFTS PROJECTS FOR WOMEN: GOOD DEVELOPMENT OR NOT?

by Jacqui Starkey and Maryanne Dulansey

EDITOR'S NOTE: One of the standard efforts thought of as an appropriate way to upgrade the productivity of Third World women is the handicraft project, and Peace Corps women Volunteers are often urged to become involved in such work either as a primary or secondary activity. Yet is it truly practical to try to develop local handicrafts, or might this ultimately prove detrimental to the very women it is designed to help? The authors suggest that unless one can be sure that the women who produce the crafts will have control over the organization, the management, and the marketing, and unless there is a sure market, one should not undertake such a project.

A format for the feasibility study which should precede any attempt at a handicraft project follows the article. The designers of the format would find a dialogue most useful: what is your experience with crafts projects? Are the questions in the proposed format all appropriate? Using the format, did you decide to do the crafts project, or did you decide against it? The P&T staff will be happy to forward any responses to the authors.

THE AUTHORS: Jacqui Starkey and Maryanne Dulansey are partners in Consultants in Development, a New York-based firm which provides services in program planning and evaluation in the areas of food and nutrition, rural employment, and women's participation in development. Both authors have experience in the importing, wholesaling, and promotion of crafts in the United States as well as in international and domestic development work. Ms. Dulansey, as chairperson of the women in development subcommittee of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, wrote Criteria for the Evaluation of Development Projects Involving Women, an excellent guide to project evaluation which is available in all Peace Corps country offices.

In Mexico City, in June of 1975, the United Nations sponsored meetings celebrating International Women's Year: a set of governmental meetings, and across town, the non-governmental groups. One of the non-governmental organization Tribune meetings was on the subject of "Third World Craftswomen and Development" and was attended by more than 400 participants from all over the world, including those producing crafts, those marketing crafts, and those providing technical and financial assistance to craft programs.

The organizers of the meeting (including the authors) proposed a rationale for involving Third World women in crafts projects. As stated in the meeting documents, it was strongly affirmed by the meeting:

"At the present time women are not integrated into the process of economic development. The

Third World craft producers, especially the poorer of them, labor under constraints which limit their ability to gain a meaningfully large share of the world market. The external market for Third World crafts is complex, highly structured, and sophisticated. Quality control and standardization are important. The market changes over relatively short periods of time. It is large, requires volume, and is growing. Most importantly, the external market is not one market, but is made up of an almost infinite range of market segments. That is to say, one must find out what buyer is willing to pay what price for what item at what time in what quantity and at which place, in order to ascertain if there is a market for a certain product. It is essential that producers thoroughly understand these characteristics of the external market.

Alternative marketing organizations (AMO's) provide an external market outlet for Third World goods, primarily crafts, as a means to promote self-help development and to educate their constituencies about development. But they are also in a position to mask reality, and to create expectations and conditions of dependency which, though unintended, have a counter-developmental impact.

Whether AMO's can expand the external market for Third World crafts depends to a large extent on their ability to assist Third World craftspeople to gain the knowledge and experience they need to operate in the world marketplace. This depends on the AMO's ability to stamp out guilt and romantic yearning, and to do right rather than good. It demands a realistic appraisal of the world economic system as it is today, for that is the one craftspeople must enter. Today's hunger cannot wait for the coming of the New International Economic Order. It demands a realistic assessment of the capabilities of the producer and of the precise market in which each product is to be sold. It requires an understanding of the limitations of the external market for poorer producers who, because they labor under constraints of marginality, are severely handicapped in their abilities to meet the demands of external markets.

—J.S. and M.D.

lack of long-range economic stability, an organizational structure, an institutionalized power base, and participation in one's future restricts the development of society as a whole and of women in particular. Crafts provide a point of entry into the development process for great numbers of women because they build on existing or easily learned skills, utilize low-cost native materials, return income despite varying levels of time invested, are cash-producing or cash-offsetting and have proven acceptability."

The fifty panelists and resource people quickly went beyond the rationale. The most pressing concern of all of them was how to assure "steadily expanding markets." An expanding market is not only a question of quantity, but it should also be a question of quality, that is, the quality of the market *for the producer.*

The craft producer should ideally have a degree of control over the product, but this is very seldom the case. Especially when crafts are produced for external markets (outside the producing country), the producer is dependent on organizers, managers, exporters and others who provide services needed to carry the product to market. These are often persons from outside the producing community, and from outside the country. They are sometimes Peace Corps Volunteers. It is critical that crafts producers themselves be trained to perform the functions needed to make and *market* crafts, functions such as collection of goods, warehousing, preparation of labeling and export documentation, packing and shipping, and development of business contacts. Otherwise the craft producers are left in a position of dependency on someone else; when that person leaves, the project may be in jeopardy.

Even more important, however, is the process of investigating the feasibility of organizing a craft project. The feasibility must be studied in a hard-headed, detailed fashion against other alternatives. Experience indicates that this is seldom done, and even when attempted, too much hope is placed on inadequate projections of external market demand. Often the possibilities of the local, *indigenous* market are not seriously explored. Craft projects are most useful in the development process when they are used as situation-specific, limited tools within a people-centered overall development strategy, primarily in rural areas as a supplement to agriculture. The reason for this limited use is that crafts projects are rarely able to bring sufficient economic returns

to sustain the producer and her or his family.

In order to assist in deciding whether or not a crafts project should be undertaken, we have developed formats for collecting information:

a) General Demographic and Occupational Characteristics;
b) Products, Materials and Skills Used or Available;
c) Marketability, Local/International.

It is not expected that full or exact information can be gathered at the outset. The best available data should be collected, with notations of specific areas which require further inquiry.

Location: _____

Information Source/Interviewer: _____

Date: _____

1) *Demographic Characteristics:* Number of people, age/sex distribution, health status, cultural characteristics.

_____

_____

_____

2) *Favorable factors* (eg existing supporting programs, structures); *unfavorable* conditions (eg poor natural resources, civil strife).

_____

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3) *Occupational Profile:* Time (amount, continuity) spent, by whom (men, women), for what economic return (cash producing, cash offsetting/subsistence).

AGRICULTURE: Includes animal raising, fishing, food gathering.

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_____

SERVICE: Examples: merchants, civil and religious officers, educators, health workers. Includes child rearing, housekeeping, whether paid or not.

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SMALL INDUSTRY: Where a *product* is made, or value is added to it. Includes handcrafts, repair of items, processing of food.

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_____

OTHER: Such as wage labor in extractive, construction, or industrial job.

_____

_____

Location: _____

Information Source/Interviewer: _____

Date: _____

1) *Products:* List kind, rate quality, estimate quantity, note price. NB: Indicate where samples are collected with an asterisk (*). Mark sample.
   a) Made for *home* use: _____
   b) Made for *home use and limited domestic market:* _____
   c) Made for *domestic* market: _____
   d) Made for *local tourist* market: _____
   e) Made for *international* market: _____
2) *Materials:*
   a) What are they? _____
   b) How much is available (quantity)? _____
   c) Where are they? _____
   d) How are they obtained? (gathered, cultivated, purchased—local, national, international—individually, cooperatively; cost.)

3) *Equipment and Technology:* Note equipment (tools, looms, potters' wheels, etc.) and technology (processing, dyes, etc.) now in use.

   Comment on whether production could be improved with simple labor-saving devices (eg ball bearings in potters' wheels) or improved technology (eg color fast dyes)

4) *Skills*
   a) What are the skills currently in use? _____
   b) What skills could be revived? _____
   c) What skills could be taught? _____
   d) How are skills transmitted? (craft guilds, parents teach children, etc.) _____
   e) Do skills suit products, raw materials, organization? _____
   f) How is labor divided in production process? Is division of labor affected by tradition? How? _____
   g) Do managerial skills meet needs? How could they be improved? _____

5) *Organizational Structures:* How are crafts groups organized; what organizations exist which do or could supply support to crafts groups. (eg individuals/cottage industry; cooperatives; credit unions; business; private non-profit organizations, church groups, governmental agencies or programs such as tourism, small industries; national crafts entity.)

6) *Financing:* What finances are available from the people themselves, from local business or other sources, from the local government, from outside sources?

Location: _____

Information Service/Interviewer: _____

Date: _____

1) Survey current markets (of products): What products are being sold, in what quantities, for what price in the following markets? (Note: The domestic and local tourist markets should be targetted first, especially in a new project.)

   a) Domestic: How far away from the site of production is the domestic market located? Is this an intermediate market (ie is there resale of products)?

_____

_____

   a1) Domestic: Are there also products which are cash-offsetting (ie items people make for their own use which they would otherwise have to buy)?

_____

_____

   b) Local tourist market: What variables affect it? (eg seasonal, economic) Does the producer control what the consumer buys? If the quantity and quality of products were improved, how much could this market be expanded?

_____

   c) Regional (Australia, New Zealand): Are products sold through individuals, social marketing organizations, businesses? Are they occasional, small or large volume? Are there special relationships with producing organizations/countries?

_____

_____

   d) US and Europe: Same as (c). Is there product status with market share?

_____

_____

2) Transportation: Note distances for transport from site of production to shipping point; from shipping point to market. Note difficulties in transporting generally; in transporting specific items (heavy, fragile, etc.) What costs are involved? _____

_____

_____

3) Packing and Packaging: Note requirements for preparation for shipment, estimate local capability and/or need for training, materials. Note cost of adequate packing for shipment. How can present packing be improved? _____

_____

_____

4) Documentation: What documentation is needed for export; does group have any experience in this area, or any transferable experience (eg dealing with government officials). Are there people available with basic literacy and numeracy skills? _____

_____

5) Taxes/Tariffs: Are products or component materials subject to taxes or tariffs which would increase their cost? Is there any exclusion (infestation or endangered species) applicable? _____

_____

_____

6) Delivery: Does the producer have the ability to deliver products on schedule? This includes ability to organize production, predict and obtain raw materials needed, while ensuring quality control. Can you estimate to what level production can be increased without major modifications in present organization? _____

_____

_____

7) Management: While all the above categories imply management capabilities, assess the general management skills now available, those needed, how they might be provided (hire new people, train existing staff), and the investments necessary to provide them. Use resources closest to production site.

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WHAT IS THE PEACE CORPS ROLE? AN INFORMAL FORUM

In September of 1976 Peace Corps Director John Dellenback appointed a committee representing Peace Corps' Regions and support offices to review the broad areas of women in Peace Corps and the Peace Corps potential for programming for women in development, and to make appropriate recommendations for policy and action. The WID Committee has, since that time, taken a number of steps to create a greater awareness of needs within Peace Corps and to coordinate efforts with those of other agencies working in the same areas.

Perhaps the most important contribution of the WID Committee, ultimately, has been the opening of constructive dialogue. A sampling follows—excerpted from letters and issue papers; a clarification of United States policy on the issue, drawn from "Women in Development" (U.S. AID) and ". . . To Form a More Perfect Union . . ." (National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year) appears on page 37.—Ed.

. . . From some of the letters and discussions reaching the Women in Development Committee, it is clear that some staff have missed the boat on "what all of this is really about." At the center of the myriad issues involving the question of what role women have had, have, and should have in international development lies the task of maximizing the mobilization of *all* human resources available. Women in Development is not in the business of exporting the "Women's Lib" movement, nor is it this year's programming fad, only to be replaced next year by our championing the rights of pygmies and then left-handers after them. Nor does it advocate that Peace Corps adopt a self-destruct programming policy by dictating what our host governments and peoples are to do *vis-a-vis* their women and what roles they are to play in the development of their countries.

The impetus behind Women in Development efforts is a reflection of both the hope and an affirmation that Peace Corps can and ought to play a constructive, catalytic role in the emerging global realization that half of humanity cannot sit on the sidelines if any truly lasting social and economic development is to take place on this planet. To proceed on any other assumption makes no sense whatever. The stark contrasts between the economic, social, and educational facts of life, depending on one's sex, demands it. The events and reassessments which grew out of the 1975 Mexico City Women's Year Conference demands it. Both the statistics and evolving expectations ultimately mean that all of us involved in international development can no longer go about our programming "business as usual".

The challenge (and for many of us who have plunged into the complexities involved, Women in Development is one of the most exciting and demanding challenges facing Peace Corps today) is not in pushing rigid formulae for how anyone is to program, nor what our male/female ratios for Volunteers or staff have to be, but rather it is to focus deliberately our collective attentions on just what the effects are of our programs on *all* the people we serve, and to work out the needed sensitive and sensible modifications with our hosts.

—Dick Haag, Outgoing Coordinator
Women in Development Committee

. . . In [host country's name] we have been stating to all who are interested in listening that Peace Corps has no programs which were "made in America." That is, that Peace Corps was interested in meeting the needs of the country as the country perceived those needs. Its headquarters, we have stated, sent out no world-wide, or regional, or country directives to tell us what kind of programs to push, except those which the country regards as important to it. It did of course indicate to us what kind of skills and/or training was available so we could develop programs for which we will be able to provide volunteers.

Now, I do not think that our statements in-country have been unique, since we have been in

continued on page 38

Women in Development: United States Policy

Section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973, known as the "Percy Amendment", requires that the U.S. bilateral development assistance programs authorized in "Sections 103 to 107 of the Act, be administered so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects, and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort."

The Amendment gives Congressional endorsement to the increasing concern of the development assistance community and developing countries that women participate fully in the tasks and benefits of economic growth. Sections 103 to 107 of the Act, to which the Amendment refers, calls for concentrating AID resources on critical development problems, including food and nutrition; population planning and health; education and human resource development; selected economic and social development problems; and support of the general economy of selected recipient countries and international organizations.

On July 2, 1975, the theme of this Congressional initiative was accepted by the Mexico City Conference of the International Women's Year as a policy goal (the World Plan of Action*) recommended for adoption by the more than 130 nations participating in the United Nations assemblage.

The World Plan of Action is a set of guidelines and timetables for accomplishing the objectives of IWY and the projected United Nations Decade for Women and Development. It is regarded as the most constructive product of the Mexico Conference. It is basically a plan for worldwide improvement of the status of women, not only by strengthening and enforcing measures, which already exist at all levels of government (where lip service is now more the rule than the exception), but also by developing new programs to help ensure equality and self-determination for women in the legal, economic, political, social, and cultural aspects of their societies. The Plan calls for full participation of women in planning for development and in all efforts to promote and maintain peace.

In the section on *National Action*, certain minimum goals, target dates, and strategies for involving women in governmental and nongovernmental sectors of national life are recommended, along with key areas for action: international cooperation and the strengthening of international peace; political participation commensurate with women's numbers; education and training as a right and a means of advancement; employment in accord with skills; equity of compensation; recognition of domestic work as employment; adequate social security coverage and childcare facilities; participation in and ready access to health and nutrition programs; reevaluation of the role of women in family life and marriage practices; provision of information and means for individual determination of numbers and spacing of offspring; consideration of the special needs of women in the planning and design of housing; and attention to the more balanced development of social services, with particular reference to the needs of the migrant, the elderly, the delinquent, or criminal woman.

Another part of the Plan points to the lack or unsuitability of data regarding the status and participation of women in national life. It suggests more sex-differentiated methods of research, data collection, and analysis as a means of judging and improving the contributions of women to development and change in society.

Noting the role of the media in frequently portraying a negative image of women or in imposing alien values upon different societies, the Plan calls upon media management to review itself critically in this regard, to accord a real and proper dignity to its depiction of women, and to hire more women to help them do it.

A section of *International and Regional Action* urges that the United Nations proclaim 1975–85 the Decade for Women and Development. All U.N. agencies, member governments, regional commissions, and adjunct international organizations are called upon to implement the goals of the World Plan of Action and to work for equitable involvement of women at all levels of their planning and program development.

Finally, as a means of gauging its impact and progress toward its goals, the Plan requires regular *Review and Appraisal* by all relevant institutions. The Economic and Social Council is charged with evaluating these findings and recommending any changes in the Plan.

On December 15, 1975, the General Assembly adopted 10 resolutions and one committee decision on women's issues. The United States supported eight, voted against two with unacceptable language about the "elimination of racism," and abstained on an omnibus resolution because it raised the issue of Zionism. In spite of its abstention, the U.S. delegation strongly supported that resolution's provisions for implementing the Plan and the Decade, its call for a mid-term world conference, the review procedures, the establishment of an International Institute For the Advancement of Women, and its request for a widespread publicity campaign. ■

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line with some basic Peace Corps principles—principles which have helped distinguish Peace Corps programs from other bilateral and indeed multi-lateral programs. We have not been selling programs which *we* thought were "good" for the host countries because of moral judgments stemming from our own culture. Peace Corps took this approach, I thought, because it was especially sensitive to Host Country attitudes, including cultural attitudes. Peace Corps has been especially aware how easy it is to stand accused of cultural imperialism, provoked by an application of our (American, Western, industrialized) values to the developing countries of the world—call it cultural imperialism, paternalism, big-brotherism, etc.—Peace Corps has avoided it and it is, to its good credit, regarded in most countries as understanding the local outlook.

Then comes the issue of the women's role in development. What indeed should be the Peace Corps' role in this respect? Is it appropriate/legitimate for it to promote the role of a particular group in a foreign society? The knowledge of all of us as to Peace Corps history is incomplete but I personally am not aware when it has chosen to do so. If it promotes the greater involvement of women, who have indeed been prevented in many countries from playing a more active or useful role, then why should it not promote the greater involvement (or avoidance of discrimination against) other neglected groups, i.e. dark-skinned people in a brown/light skinned country; pygmies in a tall people's society, etc.

During [a recent conference], I discussed this issue with a number of Host Country National staff members and most of them expressed concern that Peace Corps would seek to introduce outside notions as to how women are treated in their societies. Most of them thought that it would be considered offensive by Host Countries for us to suggest or imply that they were wanting if they did not take actions to promote the advancement of the role of women. Simply put, this would be regarded as meddling. If countries wanted an outside institution to play a role in this respect, then the country would request such help. If one of the results of International Women's Year was to raise the consciousness of governments and women's groups on this subject, then those governments should take the initiative to involve Peace Corps.

I consider that our legitimate role is to continue to offer volunteers for sound programs in areas where we can recruit them—both men and women—unless we are persuasively requested to limit our involvement by sex. I think our legitimate role is to display to countries the array of programs which have been successful elsewhere. I think our legitimate role is to solicit interest by countries in our availability to assist in programs to meet problems they recognize.

I do not consider it appropriate for us to suggest to them that through our programs they should improve the lot of women and that it would be wise of them to let us help them. This should not be a point of our particular lance.

What comes out of a reading of the current draft of the new programming documents suggests to me and to many others that we are poking our noses into other people's internal problems. (This issue takes up 4 out of a total of 9 questions in the Problem Analysis section of the Project Plan document.) That is dangerous. It is especially dangerous in the world of 1977, with its heightened nationalism and suspicion of outsiders which is growing in many countries. We do not need to add further to the growth of an arms-distant attitude towards Peace Corps and towards the United States. We, Peace Corps, are not so secure in the hearts of many countries that we should seriously risk offending.

Now, the U.S. Congress may introduce amendments to the Peace Corps Act which require some special effort with respect to the role of women in our projects. I think this should be resisted very, very strongly, for it would be a foreign legislative intrusion into the internal social affairs of another country. It would be the "nose of the camel under the tent" of other amendments which Host Countries could consider offensive.

A personal note here: I was in AID's predecessor agencies when the US AID Programs started to go downhill. One of the most important factors contributing to that was the series of directive and restrictive amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act, which AID was too weak to counter. In the form of administrative improvements, adherence to standards, upholding of principles—all drawn directly from a domestic American system—amendment after amendment was added which accomplished little that was beneficial but added the requirements of reports, findings, exceptions, special committees, revisions, particular types of technical analyses. All of this took up an enormous amount of time in a period of staff reduction—and diverted staff attention from the central parts of their responsibilities.

When I left in 1964, as a Division Chief on Latin America, about forty per cent of my time was spent on peripheral matters—unimportant to the central task.

One last point: you may ask that if my view holds water, then why did so many country Directors at the Columbia meeting express support for more attention to the women's role—with no negative

input. (The lack of negative input should have been a clue to this, since in that rambunctious group almost every area had some negative comments.)

For one, I think that some of the positive expression was related to the role of American women Volunteers and not to those country national women. Second, it took a while for the implications of promoting advancement of host country national women in the projects to sink in. Third, some people are intimidated by the subject and were reluctant to be regarded as negative to women's rights. Lastly, I think that there was some tendency for people to testify on the side of virtue.

To sum up, my view is that we have no place in specifically promoting the role of host country women through the focus or design of our projects, however desirable the end is, unless the Government asks us to do so. We should be firm in performing in a non-discriminatory manner ourselves. But, I doubt that we should go beyond that.

—A Country Director

. . . The International Labour Organization statistics of 1975 show that 60-80% of the agricultural work in Sub-Saharan Africa is performed by women. This is not an insignificant target population for any development programmer. Moreover, nearly all of the countries considered in these statistics have a stated national top priority of increased agricultural production and self-sufficiency. Yet of the circa 175 Peace Corps Volunteers serving in agricultural programs in Sub-Saharan Africa we have perhaps 10 Volunteers working to up-grade the agricultural skills of these female farmers. This makes no sense from the standpoint of our mission to help "the poorest of the poor", no sense in terms of stated government priorities and no sense from the prescribed customs of many of these traditional societies which require women to participate economically in the family unit.

This target population, then, provides a significant potential for program growth. Yet Peace Corps is not involved in this problem. One facet to this lack of involvement seems to be that *Peace Corps programmers do not necessarily know what the roles of women are*. It is worth noting that very few statistics are available on either rural men or women, yet our staff continue to make cursory pronouncements about their roles. As an example, a Peace Corps Country Director writes:

> "In [host country X] the moslem religion prodominates. This fact greatly restricts the movement and activities of [host country] females. Most [host country] women are confined to their houses where they play an extremely vital role as homemakers. Women usually *only* leave their houses to go to the market, look for firewood, haul water, help with planting and harvesting and on special festival occasions. Women who have any status at all do no outside of the house work and leave their houses only on special occasions."

A July 1976 report to the Board of Directors for the Consortium for International Development states for this same country that the pattern of farm production by the largest moslem ethnic group is as follows: "The women have not only their own vegetable gardens they have their own millet fields as well. In addition to working their own fields at each stage of cultivation they assist in their husbands' fields weeding and cultivating as well as planting and harvesting. In addition the . . . women are responsible for the day-to-day care of livestock—cows as well as goats."

The division of the Ministry of Planning that reaches out to the village women says that "these women are demanding training in agriculture and the care of animals." When asked "if it would be helpful to have American women agriculturists to assist in training their agents or as Peace Corps workers out in the field" . . . the response was "American collaboration would be welcome at every level, top to bottom."

—Debbie Harding, Coordinator
Women in Development Committee

. . . Male Volunteers were sent out to work in this fisheries program and because they can work easier with male farmers and because the Peace Corps training was very oriented toward male farmers, women fishfarmers were never considered—these Volunteers encouraged fishfarming among male farmers.

However, had Peace Corps sent Volunteers who would work with women farmers the fishfarming operations in this division could now be basically subsistence. It is the salaried civil servants and traders who purchase fish in the market. Commercial production of fish favors these groups, while subsistence production would tend to supply fish to the rural farming population which is the group in which you find protein deficiency and thus is the target population for the fish production by the program. The decision to place male Volunteers in this program in effect determined the type of production,

commercial or subsistence, that could be carried on and I am sure that the person at Peace Corps who made this decision did not have the slightest idea of the effects this decision would have on the program. It is for this reason that I feel that the possibility of Peace Corps working with female farmers in such programs should be considered a lot more seriously than it appears to have been considered in the past.

—Greg Perrier, Third-year Volunteer
Cameroon (Fisheries Program)

. . . Peace Corps is part of the world development effort, with a mission defined in social and human terms. Its goals and philosophy commit its human resources to increasing the capability of developing world peoples to acquire the skills and knowledge to make decisions which affect and control their lives. By looking at what Third World women do, why they do it, and what their aspirations and real capabilities are, Peace Corps can address social and economic needs in creative ways that will directly benefit women as well as men, thereby enhancing the development process. Over 50% of the Peace Corps host country populations are women. As a humanistic organization involved with assistance and cultural recognition, Peace Corps cannot ignore those people.

The Peace Corps should be concerned with the role of women in development at two levels: programming and management.

PROGRAMMING

The goal of programming is to develop and implement projects that encourage and engage the full participation of men and women in economic and social activities that improve local economies as well as enhance the quality of life at the community level. This requires an awareness of the needs and roles of host country women so that they may become an integral part of the programming process rather than a special interest group treated with concern but separately. Integrated programs that affect the entire community or target population will address the needs of women. If programs do not directly involve women, at the very least they must not have a negative effect on women.

There is a need for planners and implementors of Peace Corps programs to recognize the equal role which women play in the development process and to consciously integrate women into the development project which they initiate. This includes examining new or "non-traditional" ways in which the resources of women can enhance the development process within their communities. It also includes recognizing women as worthy beneficiaries of development efforts which occur. Effective programming recognizes that a community is the sum total of its parts. When the actual or potential contribution of any member is impeded, the loss is felt by the whole.

Each Peace Corps project must be based on the host country perception of goals, the suitability of the means to achieve them, and the pace at which goals are achieved. Each country must find its own strategy for the integration of the total population in national development related both to the stage of development reached by that country and to the cultural, social, and economic situation in that country.

Programming to include women involves talking to women. Contact should be made with women in government and national organization, but more importantly with women in local community groups. In many cultures only women can be effective communicators and motivators of other women, so women should be trained and employed in this capacity.

MANAGEMENT

The most important management goal is the adoption of policies that would demand the type of programming described above. It should be built into training and monitoring systems. Agency policies which promote the integration of women in development are essential to programming, staffing, and volunteers.

The present level of female staff members in field programming positions is low. In order to address the needs of host country women, more women should be employed in decision-making positions by Peace Corps. This is not to say that women alone can solve the problems of women, but increases in female staff would lend more credence to women as change agents both in U.S. organizations and in host countries. At the same time this would allow for greater cultural sensitivity in areas such as health and child care where Peace Corps staff are more likely to come into contact with host country women as program managers.

Currently, 38% of Peace Corps Volunteers worldwide are women. Programs and opportunities for women volunteers exist right now. We must address the issue of recruitment and educate recruiters so that women can be placed in existing programs. Discriminatory attitudes on the part of male and female recruiters must be examined and eliminated. Attitudes exist which may prevent placement of women who are eager and able to serve.

In the context of the above issues, the Peace

Corps Women in Development Committee recommends the following goals and policies.

Development and implementation of programs that benefit the total community and involve the full participation of host country men and women in all Peace Corps countries.

Consideration of staff spouses by preparing them for a valued role in country, and permitting them freedom of choice regarding participation in Peace Corps activities.

Change in present policy of Peace Corps Director determining whether or not staff spouses can work. The policy should be that anyone can work so long as he or she is not displacing a host country national.

Increased participation of both male and female Volunteers in projects aimed at integrating women in the development process.

Incorporating into Volunteer training programs an understanding of the role of women in the host country.

Incorporating into Volunteer training programs an understanding of the unique social and cultural situations that may affect male and female Volunteers.

Active recruitment of female staff for directorships and associate directorships, with a goal of at least one woman in such positions in every country by the end of FY 79.

Equal representation of men and women at all levels of operations at Peace Corps/Washington.

Collection in each Peace Corps country of national data on the roles and status of host country women and development of a reporting system to keep Peace Corps/Washington informed about effective programs and strategies for programs integrating women into the development process.

Awareness training components for all overseas and Washington staff to promote conscious concern for Women in Development issues throughout the Peace Corps.

Development of resource capacities in Peace Corps/Washington to provide technical assistance and program and training models, to the field to aid in development and implementation of new programs.

Increased opportunities for women to enter, to be effectively trained for, and to participate in all Peace Corps programs.

—Karen Mitchell
Women in Development Committee

. . . These brief investigations give a strong indication that rural women will be keen to take an active part in rural development if enough guidance and help is given. They seem to be receptive to new ideas such as better methods of farming, home-making, home-industries, and marketing.

However, even among the most vocal members in these villages, there is still a feeling of disbelief in their ability to help themselves. The author was asked many times to see if she could try and effect these changes on their behalf. They felt personally inadequate to initiate many of the solutions they suggested for change. Thus it seems that in addition to economic considerations that deter rural women from making use of the services provided by government or other agencies, there is also an area of personal, psychological, and social difficulties.

The services that are provided by either the government or other agencies are often modern and impersonal to a family living in a remote village and often seen as strange and threatening. Rural people are afraid to lose face—to be ridiculed, so they do not always take advantage of what services are available. In addition they often do not know what is available in the way of services. This is a problem which is aggrevated by illiteracy.

—Anne Mujeni

TRAINING FOR STAFF SPOUSES

by Blythe Tennent

EDITOR'S NOTE: One problem that came up in several different forms during the panel presentation on Women in Development at the Country Directors' Conference (see page 23) was Peace Corps' treatment of, and expectations of, the staff spouse. Are wives "part of the Peace Corps team" and, if so, why doesn't Peace Corps provide them with proper training and support? If not, why is so much expected of them?

Blythe Tennent of Staff Training deals with the spouses when they come to Washington for their week of orientation; in the following article she chronicles some of the most oft-repeated complaints and makes suggestions for improving less than ideal conditions. Her article refers to "wives," not "spouses," because, Ms. Tennent point out, staff husbands are not treated in the same way, nor are Peace Corps' expectations of them the same; as a general rule, the husbands find productive employment in the host country before they arrive and do not even attend the Peace Corps training orientation.
THE AUTHOR: Blythe Tennent is a Training Officer for ACTION Staff Training; one of her areas of responsibility is the training of the orientation of spouses accompanying Peace Corps staff overseas. A graduate of Ohio-Wesleyan University, Ms. Tennent has served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Niger, and as a Training Officer for Peace Corps in that country.

As I meet and work with Peace Corps staff wives going overseas, I am confronted with the frustration and anger they feel towards the Peace Corps.

One issue that continually emerges during the orientation for spouses is that wives feel that Peace Corps has expectations of them that are stereotyped and confining. Conversations with returned Peace Corps wives, Volunteers and current Action staff indicate that they, too, feel there is a definite role wives are expected to play in supporting their husbands and the Peace Corps program overseas.

In this felt or imagined role, the Peace Corps wife is an extension of her husband. She reflects the "Peace Corps image" by intimately involving herself in the host community. She is expected to learn the local language, to live in an area of town predominately populated by host country nationals, to buy all of her food in the local market, to decorate her house with the local crafts and to become involved in the local community in some way that expresses her own personality. She is *not* to spend her days socializing with other American women or hidden away in her house reading, studying, or working on her own private interests.

As the wife of Peace Corps staff member she also has certain diplomatic duties to perform. These range from arranging holiday parties for the Volunteers to organizing 200-person reception for the Regional Director's visit to the country. She is required to attend official cocktail receptions of the American diplomatic community (these can consume nearly all of her evenings if she lets them); and she may even be pressured to help with preparations for anything from an embassy celebration of the Fourth of July to weekly bridge parties with the American wives.

At the same time she will be expected to help her husband to entertain ministry officials, spending these few remaining evenings politely conversing in a language that is new and/or difficult for her.

And because her husband's function is to support Volunteers and Volunteer projects, she is expected to be interested in the Volunteers themselves, with her duties ranging from the extreme of making her home a "hotel" where Volunteers stay when in town, to visiting Volunteers at their posts, to inviting Volunteers home for American-style home-cooked meals, to acting as a counselor or confidante to troubled Volunteers. She may find herself dealing with situations which range from homesickness . . . to pregnancy . . . to depression . . . to marriage counseling . . . and the list goes on. And to add further burden to her load, in being a friend to Volunteers she must always maintain a position of neutrality, never letting slip a remark that could discredit Peace Corps policies or the Director. Finally, even as she has close contact with Volunteers, she is encouraged to keep ideas and suggestions to herself and let staff make policy.

Officially, all the above is voluntary. There is no official statement defining this to be "the role of the Peace Corps staff wife."

Yet actions seem consistently to translate into an unofficial attitude that wives object to throughout their tours with Peace Corps: staff wives are often referred to as "Peace Corps employees without compensation". For in fact, even if a staff wife refuses to adopt some of the more traditional responsibilities (e.g. entertaining), there will always be that special situation (e.g. when an official comes from Washington) when she will have to cope because at the last minute there just doesn't seem to be any choice. . . . As for seeking employment, a staff wife must have prior approval from the Country Director: one wife was chastized by the Country Director for sending her resume ahead of her arrival; others have simply been forbidden by the Director to seek work which may further their careers. Often staff wives are put off with the suggestion that they can spend their time counseling Volunteers if they are interested in work. . . .

Appallingly, despite these pressures to live up to the idealized image, wives are given no tools with which to become involved in the culture. Peace Corps provides wives with no language training, no cross-cultural studies, nor with any other program that might help them deal with the host community as they are expected to.

The problems begin when a staff member is newly hired. Typically while *he* goes to Washington—on short notice—to receive a month of training for *their* assignment overseas, *she* is left at home to pack up the kids and sell the house and car. And even though she is invited to attend one week of training, Peace Corps does not help with child care, and so she is left scrambling to find a sympathetic relative who will take on the brood or alternatively must rely on finding a sitter in the unfamiliar hotel setting in Washington.

It is no wonder, then, that when the wives arrive in Washington one week before they are to leave for overseas, they feel confused and not a little angry. Most, however, are looking forward to living in and learning about another culture; they are looking for tools to help integrate them into the society. Many have been studying the language on their own since they found out that they would be going overseas; most have read anything they could get their hands on about their country of assignment. They are anxious to talk with anyone who has visited or lived there; they wonder about possible employment, volunteer work, hobbies. Wives who are mothers try to find out about schools and health care for their children.

What does Peace Corps give them?

Peace Corps' spouse training is an attempt to orient Peace Corps wives to the agency and prepare them for their tour overseas. Yet due to the diversity of interests, experiences and needs of the women going overseas, the training can address only very general needs. An average training group is composed of three to four participants going to three very different parts of the world with interests ranging from how to pursue a career to how to care for children overseas. Training is further diffused by the fact that wives have difficulty locating reliable sitters, and are often forced to miss sessions or bring their children with them to training.

In an attempt to meet the needs of the wives, we conduct a needs assessment prior to training. However, training generally covers only broad subjects that concern the wife and her role overseas. Issues such as the frustration of entertaining three children in a hotel for a month while locating a house, the

". . . One staff wife was chastized by the Country Director for sending her resume ahead of her arrival."

hiring and managing servants, food preparation, entertainment, relations with Volunteers, and personal privacy are discussed. We attempt to build on the excitement of going overseas by sessions with the Country Desk Officers and recently returned wives who can give concrete suggestions on hobbies, interests, volunteer work or employment. We stress the need to identify personal needs and frustration levels, and to adopt a life style that will reflect those needs. We also introduce wives to the wide variety

of Volunteer problems they are likely to face overseas and we suggest possible ways to approach those problems. Wives who are interested in more assistance are given sessions on listening techniques, as well as opportunities to meet Peace Corps overseas support office personnel.

The training program does achieve its goals in introducing wives to the Agency and encouraging them to define from their own interests a suitable life style overseas. It also allows them the opportunity to realize that the fears and frustrations of moving the family overseas and starting a new life are shared by other wives. At the same time however, it leaves them with a feeling that they need more answers, more concrete help in learning about the place in which they will be living for the next couple of years. In order to do this, Peace Corps needs to address the following issues.

1) Couples should, *from their very first contacts with Peace Corps,* be given the kind of information which will help them in determining if the overseas position is realistic for their needs. Peace Corps should send descriptions of the cultural and geographical aspects of the post with specific information on housing and schools available. If the spouse is interested in working, her/his resume should be sent to the Country Director for comment on the feasibility of finding suitable employment, and policy should be clarified if there is an objection to a spouse working. Concrete suggestions about potential volunteer work should be made.

2) Pre-training information to participants should include articles and suggestions for helping children and the family as a whole adjust to leaving the United States and living overseas.

3) Families should be encouraged to start language training during the pretraining period. If the family is awaiting clearances, Peace Corps should pay for lessons once clearance is received.

4) Pre-service training for spouses should occur *before* the family begins packing and making other final preparation for departure. In addition to subjects now covered (role of the wife, impact of Peace Corps on the family, relations with Volunteers, etc.), training should introduce the spouse and the children to Agency goals, purpose and programs. Meetings with regional personnel to discuss country-specific issues relating to family needs should also be included.

5) In-country training for the family should occur several weeks after their arrival in-country, when they have located housing, schools, etc. Meetings could be arranged with in-country training staff or host people familiar with the country and with the frustrations and confusions Americans are known to have with the culture or environment. "Family projects" could introduce various aspects of the culture; language training should also be continued for all family members. Spouse and family members might be included in appropriate Volunteer in-country training programs. And finally, the wife should be aided in finding employment or volunteer work in the host community.

As I think about the whole issue of wives and family training, I am amazed that Peace Corps, which places so much emphasis on Volunteer preparation and on finding valid assignment for Non-Matrixed Spouses, is so lax in its dealings with staff spouses. The spouse, whether s/he chooses employment or not, has a role to play in participating in or organizing Peace Corps support functions. No matter what s/he does overseas, her/his presence is noted by the host country, by Volunteers and by the official American community; her/his involvement and happiness reflects on the Peace Corps presence and the overall effectiveness of the staff.

Thus Peace Corps must recognize spouses as a given part of the Peace Corps presence overseas. A new look at policy concerning staff spouses from top management down through country staffs overseas is essential. ■

WOMEN AS VOLUNTEERS; VOLUNTEERS AS WOMEN

EDITOR'S NOTE: This section of the Journal deals exclusively with the female Volunteer: is her Peace Corps experience significantly different from that of the male Volunteer? . . . is she less likely than the male Volunteer to stay to the end of her tour? . . . should special training be devised to help her operate in a "macho" culture? Opinions vary—as witness the differences women Volunteers themselves note in Part III, Women Volunteers Speak. (These were drawn from a variety of sources.)

Elaine Burgess presents the case for a systematic effort to develop strategies for training and supporting women Volunteers. With sardonic wit she takes a hard line on Peace Corps' track record with women.

Phyllis Lauro describes the kind of effort advocated by Ms. Burgess: the women Volunteers of Ecuador have established training conferences during which they share feelings and exchange ideas on how to cope with "being attention-getting gringa". Ms. Lauro's article has appeared in the Ecuador Volunteer newspaper.

In the final article, Craig Storti and Frank West summarize and comment on the study compiled by the Office of Special Services for the International Operations Women in Development Committee. The study compares attrition rates of men Volunteers to those of women from several different perspectives (job, country, reason for termination, etc.), and findings are, in some cases, rather startlingly different from what the conventional wisdom would have us believe. The authors suggest that, "handled with the care statistics deserve, the information contained in the study can be effectively translated into wiser, more productive programming." Country staffs are urged to take a careful look at the findings.

THE AUTHORS: Elaine Burgess, a counseling psychologist at Drake University in Des Moines, Iowa, has been a consultant for Peace Corps many times. She has set up Peace Corps workshops on cross-cultural problems, conducted a study of culture shock in Volunteers, and, as a Training Development Officer in 1970 and '71, developed a variety of training programs for the Agency. Ms. Burgess's articles "The Role of Women PCVs in Ecuador" and "A Letter to Peace Corps Applicants" have appeared in the P&T Journal.

Phyllis Lauro has been a Peace Corps Volunteer in Ecuador for the past three years. In addition to her work in home/community improvement, Ms. Laura has been active as one of the editors of the Ecuador Volunteer newspaper, and she regularly participates in Volunteer training programs.

Craig Storti joined the Peace Corps in 1970; he served as a Volunteer in Morocco. Since that time, he has served as an Evaluator in Placement and as Special Services Officer for NANEAP Region. Two articles by Mr. Storti, "The Generalists Come of Age" and "The State of the Art" have appeared in the P&T Journal; the latter has since been reprinted in Interaction under the title, "Is Altruism Losing Ground in the Peace Corps?".

Frank West is currently responsible for research relating to records and documents of the Peace Corps' Office of Special Services. Mr. West holds a law degree from Oklahoma City University and has acted as a consultant in project coordination, data collection, and conceptual research for a variety of firms.

THE PROBLEM OF "EXCESS BAGGAGE"

by Elaine Burgess

A Fable

Once upon a time, in the olden days when Peace Corps had training centers in places like Hawaii, Virgin Islands, Escondido and Puerto Rico, a staff learned that its next group was to number over fifty, and that nearly half of the group were women classified as non-matrix spouses due to the fact that they were married to men who possessed skills desired by a particular country. Although the women had excellent educations and work experiences, and would be sworn in as Volunteers entitled to regular allowances, there were no jobs wating for them when they reached that country. In fact, the Country Director gave the training staff notice that he considered the women to be "excess baggage", to be tolerated only because of their husbands' skills. This Director had had poor luck with a similar group which preceded them. The wives in that early group were unhappy, and so most of the couples terminated early, leaving the poor Country Director with some ugly statistics and Peace Corps with a besmirched reputation.

The training officer with the task of designing the training program for this Peace Corps country looked to her more experienced colleagues for advice. She asked for ideas about ways in which the hapless women might be appropriately prepared for two years in that country. The advice she was given was, "teach them to knit and crochet, to shop, cook, and keep house in a foreign culture, and to keep their husbands happy for two years."

There are happy endings to this would-be tragedy. The women, who were given specialized training devoted to developing their own Volunteer jobs in the country, to being productive in those jobs, and to keeping themselves happy, located jobs; and they lived happily and productively ever after for their two years of Peace Corps service. The Country Director lived happily ever after with his improved satistics. And the training officer lived happily ever after . . . especially when, nine months later, her colleagues sought counsel concerning their next training program. It seems that they were about to receive a program of women nurses, and were frantically searching for ways to train the nurses' non-matrix husbands. "Teach the men to knit and crochet, to learn to shop, cook, keep house, and keep their wives happy for two years," she cheerfully advised.

"You can't do that with men," was the indignant reply. "Men need to have satisfying work."

The story is true in every aspect; it happened six years ago. I know because I was that training officer.

There are hundreds of equally sad vignettes which illustrate the plight of women in the Peace Cops, and the enormous waste of needed human skills and resources. Not all such events occurred in "the olden days." Many occurred last year; too many are occurring right now.

Women Volunteers have a very different experience from men Volunteers in Peace Corps. They face challenges and frustrations from the culture—and from the Peace Corps—that men don't regularly encounter. One of these is that in many countries the ratio of women Volunteers is low and placements are remote from other women, which deprives them of easy access to peers who are having similar experiences. Social interactions are complex for women; one Volunteer has this to say:

"When you are meeting someone for the first time, you may detect a long, inquisitive stare which may mean, 'Would you like to sleep in my bed?' Unfortunately, American women are taught to look directly into people's eyes when they are talking and this inevitably is misconstrued by males in this country as meaning yes."

Such testimony is an example of the kind of value systems that evidence themselves in some way or another in nearly every developing culture. While it may be expected that a man could leave his family in the United States and travel far away to work in another country, it is not understood why a woman would want to do so. Thus many single Peace Corps women are in the position of having to somehow establish from the beginning that they are not in trouble—disgraced prostitutes whose families have thrown them out. While a married woman enters a country with a slightly better image, she also may be expected to be sexually available if U.S. movies have been viewed by her neighbors. Then, too, married Volunteers of both sexes are suspect in several ways if they have no children.

Many challenges are job related: "It is unnatural for men in this country to find themselves in a classroom being taught by a woman who is their contemporary, yet better educated. . . . The students must be convinced not only of the woman's knowledge of her subject, but of her ability to control them. The woman teacher, therefore, must be exceptionally clever and strict in the beginning of the school year if she expects to control her students at the end." Men have the problem of control in teaching situations also . . . but they do not have the added problem of students who have never related to women in any manner other than that of mother, sister, wife, or daughter.

And what of the woman Volunteer who has always worked off frustration by walking alone at night, but is prevented from doing so because this behavior is construed to mean that she is a prostitute looking for business?

Or the single woman in Nepal, so assailed by her neighbors' attention and suspiciousness that she has to move, and then is too far from town to be able to partake in evening activities without an escort, and is unable to share living quarters with another single American woman because there are so few single women Volunteers in her area?

Sometimes I think it's a wonder that there are any women at all in Peace Corps. They have a difficult time because the ways in which they must adapt and adjust to conservative, developing cultures require radical changes from their former life styles. Women Volunteers must learn to accept and make compromises between the social roles they have learned at home and the totally different social role of women in the host country. A woman must find some middle ground between the two which is not offensive to her hosts and yet does not eradicate and devastate her personal identity and productiveness.

Men, of course, also must change a great many habit patterns, and modify their life styles if they are to be productive Volunteers. However, the social role for men is more congruent across cultures since they are generally expected to work and be in charge, to have power, both physical and political, and are usually not thought to be immoral if they conduct their activities in a solitary manner or seek female friendship. The social role to which men must adapt is not so drastic a departure from their own culture as is the social role which confronts women. Rarely, however, is this difference acknowledged and dealt with productively in training or during volunteer service.

Most women Volunteers want to make the necessary compromises and meet the challenges, but find it difficult to do so alone and without much understanding or encouragement from the Peace Corps.

The fact that there are more than 2,000 women serving overseas as Volunteers raises a question as to why there has been little systematic effort to develop methodologies and strategies designed to facilitate their adaptation and productivity in their assigned countries. The answer is multifaceted, but a major portion of the reason must be that Peace Corps either has not recognized the difference between men's and women's Peace Corps experience, or has not thought it to be important. When discussions have taken place as to whether women PCV's are "viable" in a particular country, the verbal response by staff has usually been "yes." But the staffs in those same countries seldom demonstrate a commitment to

the verbal affirmation by establishing innovative programming, specialized training for women, or sufficient program and personal support.

One reason why Peace Corps has failed to demonstrate support for women Volunteers in the field may be related to the fact that while somewhat more than a third of the Volunteers are women, only about thirteen percent of overseas staff are American women. Worse, fewer than a handful of the Country Director posts are filled by women. In every one of the eight countries where I have worked, women Volunteers have complained about the poor quality of communication between themselves and their predominantly male country staff. With rare exceptions, they feel like second class Volunteers whose presence and work is not valued.

"Sometimes I think it's a wonder that there are any women at all in the Peace Corps."

Women report remarkably similar experiences when they seek staff assistance. A male program officer or Country Director listens politely (sometimes . . .) and then replies that he really doesn't know how to help them. Or he may refer them to an host national secretary who is just as much at a loss to comprehend why the woman Volunteer is having difficulty or is discouraged. Sometimes the male staff member will suggest that the woman talk to the American wife of a staff member. Although staff wives can be of assistance, they are not staff members, they do not participate in Peace Corps decision making, they are not trained in counseling, and since their experience as non-employed wives in the capital city is vastly different from that of working Volunteers, they may have little credibility with the Volunteers.

That the experiences of men and women are different in developing countries is in no way a condemnation of male staff; most men staff members do their best to assist all Volunteers in their respective countries. Due to the absence of experience caused by their gender, however, women's concerns and difficulties may not seem as serious and as important as they really are. A response elicited far too frequently from male staff persons and male Volunteers alike is to tell a woman that she should relax and *enjoy* the "attention" (hassle) that she gets from men. This degrading response discounts the woman, her experiences and feelings, and causes even greater frustration and anger. While doing a counseling workshop for staffs in four Peace Corps countries, I heard only two men respond appropriately to a situation in which a woman Volunteer complains to a male staff member that he does not understand the frustrations she is experiencing. Those two empathetic men responded by saying something like, "You're right. I don't know what it's like." The others discounted what was being communicated by belittling the statement as well as the woman. Women PCV's have reason to allege that men staff don't understand their experiences. They don't. How can they? They have never been a woman in a foreign culture, and this is a significant part of the whole problem.

Can Peace Corps remedy the situation? Can it develop training strategies and support systems that will enhance the overseas experience for women? Can it place sufficient women staff in overseas programming positions to provide needed women's input in planning, programming and decision making?

Recruiting and programming more women into traditional Volunteer jobs overseas is not likely to produce the desired result unless concerted efforts to train and support them are undertaken simultaneously. There is a real danger if only halfway, partial efforts are made; unsatisfactory, feeble results will be the outcome and old refrains like "excess baggage" or "not viable" will be reinstituted to explain away the agency's failure to meet the challenge. Peace Corps currently does not have the woman power required to plan, direct and implement affirmative programming for women Volunteers. Only a small proportion of the staff is female; even if 40% of the overseas staff were women, they, like the men, would be *appropriately* too preoccupied with the intricacies of providing on-going programming and support for all Volunteers to be expected to develop new strategies for maximizing the potential of women within the total Peace Corps agency.

If this dilemma and loss of human skills and resources is to be resolved within the next few years, Peace Corps must commit itself to a new and vital course of action which confronts all aspects of the issue.

What is needed is resources, expertise, and leadership in promoting the full utilization of women's potential in Peace Corps, and direct communication with women Volunteers in the field until such a time as women are more equitably represented in overseas staff positions, specific staff members should be charged with acquiring information about women in Peace Corps, working with regions and countries in the development of realistic but innovative programming, developing, refining, and implementing train-

ing components to meet women's needs, providing the impetus and guidance for increased support of women overseas, and assisting and advising in the recruitment of women Volunteers, and the recruitment of staff women for overseas posts.

Of course, Peace Corps *can* remedy the situation. Whether it *will* do so, in a manner calculated to be effective and successful, remains to be seen. If it is, as advertised, an idealistic, humanistic, innovative agency dedicated to the improvement of the human condition throughout the world, then it will meet the challenge. If, instead, it is just another pedestrian, run of the mill bureaucracy, it will not. Peace Corps has a unique opportunity to provide leadership in actualizing the potential of both men and women worldwide. To provide this leadership it must begin with its own organization. It must begin with the same resolve and commitment of purpose that characterizes Volunteers who have made a difference in the world by devoting a large measure of their time and energy to the solution of problems and to the confrontation of challenge.

Women as Volunteers; Volunteers as Women, II

TRAINING CONFERENCES FOR WOMEN VOLUNTEERS: THE EXPERIENCE IN ECUADOR

by Phyllis Lauro

We had discussed it all before many times—the highs and lows of living alone as Volunteers in Ecuador, the joys and frustrations related to being an attention-getting *gringa*—and we felt that we would gain a lot by calling together all interested women Volunteers in-country to share feelings and exchange ideas on how to cope. Because we intended to address problems particular to women Volunteers, we decided that men would be excluded, at least for a first trial run conference.

Thus in August of 1976, a conference was held at the Training Center in Quito, in conjunction with the fifth week of a regularly scheduled training program for incoming Volunteers—*for women only*.

The session lasted only a few hours but was considered so worthwhile that participants recommended that such a gathering be scheduled for every training group. In keeping with this, a second women's conference was held in November, during the final days of the following training cycle.

At each meeting about twenty to thirty women Volunteers and trainees attended, or about one third of the total number in country. Other participants included Ecuadorian and American training staff members, Peace Corps nurses, and the Peace Corps counselor. (Some male Volunteers and staff members had expressed an interest in listening in, and admittedly some of the matters treated could have been of interest to the men as well. At the end, however, it was felt that the male presence would have made some of the women reluctant to speak frankly and openly. For this reason both conferences were restricted to women only.)

The trainees tended to do more listening than talking. Their experience of life in the campo consisted of only one weekend visit to their future job sites. But they were eager listeners as the veteran Volunteers told tales of what it's like being the lone North American woman in a small, sometimes isolated, rural Ecuadorian community.

Lifestyle was a major concern of most of the women living in the countryside. No one seemed to like the extremes of living completely alone or of being placed in the same site, same job, and same household with another woman. Volunteers recognized the necessity of integrating themselves into the community. Yet at the same time, they could not deny the difficulty of finding a true friend among the locals. Women have special problems: befriending a male is strictly taboo, and it is unlikely there will be any young, single women understanding of the gringa headset. A suggestion was made that Peace Corps establish a policy requiring that at least two Volunteers be placed in each rural site, but some women objected, voicing their preference for living alone.

The discussion concluded with a statement of the obvious: each woman should choose the living conditions consistent with the dictates of her own per-

sonal make-up. Also, if the days should begin to appear as nothing more than a time of isolation, deprivation, and loneliness, the Volunteer should realize that her physical and mental health could be at stake. Many of the women noted that intense feelings of depression and failure often lead to excesses of eating, smoking, drinking, sleeping, drug use, sexual activity. These "solutions" of course only add to the problem. All agreed that simply talking things over with others experiencing the same feelings is a good beginning in easing some of the anxiety.

The physical environment is a variable not to be discounted or taken lightly. Electricity, indoor plumbing, public transportation, marketplaces, entertainment, etc., can be considered necessities or they can be considered conveniences. Unfortunately, the woman who is unable to adapt to an extremely basic standard of living sometimes judges herself a failure. Even in Peace Corps no one should be forced to play the martyr. A recommendation for Peace Corps was that more attention be given to the selection of job sites, including approval by the Medical Office.

As an issue related to selecting the appropriate lifestyle, the women commented on the problem of coping with how the community related to the way the Volunteer lives. A young, single woman living alone is always a curiosity and not above suspicion. No one understands her desire for privacy and therefore does not respect it. Especially in the smaller rural communities, the Volunteer spends a lot of time explaining herself. She is asked why she lives alone, why she isn't afraid, if she has parents, how her mother could let her go off alone to a foreign country for two years, and when she plans to marry. (The positive side of this is that she has a captive audience when she attempts to initiate community projects.)

The women Volunteers in the city had some thoughts on the urban aspect of being a mini-spectacle. The gringa on the street inevitably attracts the attention of Ecuadorian men. The continuous hassling takes the form of anything from harmless catcalls to insulting suggestions. If a woman responds warmly to a friendly greeting she reinforces the notion of the "easy gringa." If she responds negatively she is another of those cold American women. The difficulty lies in identifying the man with good intentions.

Furthermore, a woman must try to avoid paranoia yet maintain the necessary level of caution. Her personal safety is in danger if she is out alone after dark. She should take taxis at night for even very short distances. When on the street alone day or night she should walk at a steady pace, purposeful, assertive, to show that she knows where she's going (even if she doesn't). The way a woman carries herself, as well as the way she dresses, determines the amount and the kind of attention she will attract.

Before the first Women's Conference was held in August, some Volunteers and staff speculated that it would be nothing more than a gripe session. And even after the second conference there were still those who felt that too many negative feelings had been aroused. Most, however, felt that the women relating their experiences—even negative experiences—were advising the necessity to proceed with caution, to be open and flexible, and particularly the need to know one's self.

The Women's Conferences perhaps have more immediate value for veteran Volunteers than for trainees, since they offer the opportunity for sharing feelings and comparing notes with others experiencing similar highs and lows. Hopefully, though, the trainees soon to go out into the field will be better prepared psychologically to confront their new situations. Whether positively or negatively impressed with the tone of the individual discussions, the women present were unanimous in agreeing that such conferences should be continued.

Women as Volunteers; Volunteers as Women, III

WOMEN VOLUNTEERS SPEAK

I expected to have people, and especially, men, discount anything I had to say because I was "just a girl". Well, it happened; but whenever the comment was made, there was always someone on hand to defend me on the basis of my qualification, with an explanation that things were different in my country because women are educated, too. If I have experienced professional frustration—and I have—so has every male Volunteer I've ever spoken with. A chip on the shoulder is excess baggage when you're out there shoving your boulder up the hill.

Before long, the rumor will get out that you have a lover or two. This is not at all malicious. Rather it is to them the only feasible explanation for your refusals to sleep with them. Most often, they will say that the lover or lovers are the Peace Corps men who visit you.

Outside of the classroom, the woman teacher may detect "that look" or receive "loving" letters from students, colleagues, or supervisors. . . ."

In one respect, women Volunteers have an advantage over our male counterparts: we can really get to know the women of this country. Because of the chasm between the sexes in this society, and because women are the oppressed class, there is automatically a warm sisterhood among women, of which a newcomer is quickly a part. Although the professional life of a woman Volunteer is likely to be spent largely with men, and any conversations on politics or progress are liable to be held only with men, and although you're unlikely to find any ladies to have a drink witth you, if you go in for that sort of thing, the women will forgive defections to male companionship for such purposes, and involve you in their lives—lives in which men play only a peripheral role.

Usually there are enough men in the village who realize that a Western woman follows different rules to give the woman Volunteer a fair chance of accomplishing what she came to do. (On the other hand, since the men are uncertain enough as to what our rules *are*, social situations can be somewhat tense.) Generally I think the men here who pay lip-service to women's equity are still not entirely convinced. They espouse the cause because it's a modern idea, hence attractive, like Western clothes. But to profess something is not necessarily to believe it, and when the so-called modern man goes home, he puts on national dress, and wouldn't think of treating his wife as a friend and equal.

This is nothing to be bitter about. Social attitudes take a long time to change—the transformation on this particular issue is far from complete even in the "developed" countries. Rather than spending her time angry over hypocrisy in this society, the woman Volunteer should settle down to enjoy the society of women, which is so open to her, and pretty much closed to men. It is a very special and delightful experience.

Sometimes when I am tired or overworked, I will get angry at the male's low opinion of womanhood and let their arrogance get on my nerves. On other days, it's just funny.

Here, the established code of proper behavior "for ladies only" is still a powerful determiner of female actions, and for some of you, as for some of us, two years here will mean a constant battle to retain "selves" that you happen to like. Inevitably some of each of us gets lost, and even replaced by new characteristics such as more subdued behavior, which may or may not be desirable. It is too difficult to know how these changes will appear when we get home, just as it is difficult to remember just who we were when we arrived here.

Throughout your two years, you will most likely feel, to varying degrees, this society's restrictions on you, an American woman. You will feel these restrictions on your private life as well as within the realm of your job. You will be asked to change your behavior in ways which might be difficult. These changes may go against that which you consider "you" and you may not consider them necessary *just* because you're a woman. Furthermore, some people may lead you to believe that you are a failure if you are unable to change in the ways in which you are asked to. What we want to say is that these difficulties are the norm, not the exception and that perhaps it's simply too much to ask of some one to change her or his way of thinking and behaving in order to conform to cultural patterns so different from her or his own. We can, and you will be able to, make superficial changes. But some changes you will be unable to make. And, there's no reason to feel depressed or feel like you've failed when you find it impossible to change because your feelings and your conscience don't allow you to.

I say there is no separate Volunteer role which can only be played by a woman. I can envision certain specific *jobs* which would be best undertaken by women: disseminating information on birth control or nutrition to women, for instance. But the *role* of that individual is that of health worker, and that is not a sex-specific designation. I contend that, professionally speaking, we are Volunteers who are men or women, rather than men or women who are Volunteers.

During my training (and, I suspect, that of others) there was a complete lack of discussion of the cultural differences of the sexes.

The roles of men and women in the cultures from which Volunteers come are different from the roles of men and women in Nepal. Pre-service training is the time when cultural practices and values can be openly discussed, presumably with Nepali staff. Volunteers can be made aware of both local customs which may prove problematic to us as foreigners, and of our own alien customs which would be unsuitable to host nationals.

To me, the most frightening part was to find myself falling into the thought patterns of host national women and men. Like a woman of this country, I would doubt my own capabilities, expecting a man to arrange things better than I could myself and automatically acquiescing to another's plans, even if not quite convenient. Like a man of this country, I came to treat other women as sort of good natured halfwits: good cooks but not to be entrusted with "real life". And in between, my western raised woman's conscience raged at the men for treating their women so unjustly, and at the women not only for accepting it, but more for rejecting my attempts to show them new behavior. They found my clothes, my casual relationship with my husband, my attempts to be friends with the male employees terrifying, while I deeply resented being expected to leave the room everytime a man appeared, or to leave the conversation to the men present even if it concerned me. In short, I not only failed to come to know these women as I had hoped, but I came to reject them and the subjugation they represented. At present, the only woman I see regularly and could say is a friend rather than an acquaintance is the woman doctor who directs one of the projects. She spent many years in England and speaks better English than many westerners.

Because I feel guilty, I have often talked about my feelings with other western women. Many have had similar experiences. Those who have fared better speak the local language fluently, have had considerable contact with village women and have lived here for some years. Everyone says the only communication has been on subjects the women know themselves—marriage, cooking, sewing, having babies—that they are without curiosity about the lives of western women beyond these points. In light of the lives they lead and their social milieu, this lack of experience and curiosity is totally understandable, but it makes for a very limited relationship, marked by boredom on the western side and complete lack of understanding on the eastern.

As one of three volunteer women within the German Volunteer Service serving as agriculture officer, I have not noticed any difference in quality between the work expected or accomplished by a female or male junior technical assistants . . . only that the men have license to solidify personal contacts with friends around a bottle of "raksi". I can accomplish the same thing by sharing a cup of tea with them.

Most women Volunteers in this country have had initial experiences of various degrees of ugliness. Sometimes these incidences have served as lessons and created an awareness and avoidance of similar situations. In other cases where the woman (or husband) projects the experience and makes generalizations about the host countries' morals, the incident can be the beginning of a generally unhappy tour. Worst of all is if after an ugly incident, a woman thinks to avoid all further possible incidents by confining herself to her home. Without a feeling of mobility, the experience for either the single woman or the married woman can be a frustrating experience. Each woman must be able to judge the particular living conditions, and make the necessary modifications.

Although some social traditions are based on true differences between men and women (*vive la difference!*), others are based on the unfair subjugation of one of the sexes. Before we can distinguish which is which, we must understand the traditions. Customs relating to topics such as husband and wife relationships in traditional arranged marriages; "men's" work versus "women's" work; hierarchy within the household; conflict between eastern and western values in educated host national individuals and how this conflict may affect the Volunteer socially and professionally should, nevertheless, be discussed with all Volunteers *male and female*, before they are dropped into the local society.

PATTERNS OF VOLUNTEER ATTRITION

by Craig Storti and Frank West

As part of its effort to develop a profile of female Volunteers in Peace Corps, the Women in Development Committee asked the Office of Special Services to compare patterns of male and female attrition from a number of perspectives. The resulting study has been printed and distributed to all Washington and field staff.

The study was conducted with the hope that it would answer some of the more persistent, but as yet unresolved, questions about the relative performance of men and women in Peace Corps. Likewise, it was hoped that it would put an end to the idle speculation that always flourishes when good questions such as those go unanswered for too long. It was, in short, meant to provide a statistical backdrop for management decisions at all levels, most particularly at the country level where the impact of the findings has the greatest potential use. Handled with the care statistics deserve, the information contained in the study can be effectively translated into wiser, more productive programming. It is not, clearly, our hope that you will find the information interesting and then file it away under "Attrition." Rather, we would hope that you would analyze the data and discover the implications in it for your country and your programming.

We also encourage you to criticize the data. Though we have thoughtfully riddled the study with caveats, it could probably absorb another well-placed round or two. The caveats, as you will see, mean to caution the reader against generalizing from the hip, before assembling all the pertinent input. For example, to say Morocco has a high male/low female early termination rate may or may not be to debunk the myth about women in the Arab world. Morocco may simply have had one all-male program that didn't work out and thus skewed the data. We don't know.

But perhaps the point is that you do: you know quite well which findings can be explained away and which cannot and therefore require action. . . .

The data was obtained from the termination records in the Office of Special Services. The population surveyed consisted of all individuals who entered on duty during the period January 1, 1975 through approximately November 30, 1976. The early termination figures represent all Trainees and Volunteers from that population who had terminated as of November 30, 1976. This method of computing attrition is one of several Peace Corps uses to point up different factors; the attrition rates as a consequence will not necessarily be identical to those computed by other means.

It is important to note that these figures do not reflect complete attrition for any of the programs in the population. While all the 1975 programs, for example, are at least a year old and many past the three-fourths' mark, the 1976 programs are still in their first year. Therefore, while the input data is of course final, attrition is going to increase. There is, however, no reason to expect that the ratio of male to female attrition will change. Since our purpose was to compare current male and female attrition we consciously chose this particular population.

The results of the study support several major conclusions, all of which suggest that it may be time to re-examine the conventional wisdom regarding the performance of women Volunteers in Peace Corps. One final caveat, however, before proceeding: while the total sample size (input, 6,674; early termination, 1,273) is sufficiently large to permit regional and worldwide generalizations, the size for certain countries may be too small to represent the true picture with any real certainty. In such countries one atypical project would skew the data in such a way as to misrepresent what is the norm for that country.

The four major conclusions are as follows:

- Worldwide and within each region there is not a significant difference in the early termination rates of male and female trainees and Volunteers. Females, however, appear to terminate early at a slightly lower rate.
- The reasons for which trainees and Volunteers terminate do not differ considerably from one sex to the other.
- There is no sizeable difference in the early termination rates of males and females from one job category to the next.
- Within NANEAP and Latin America region, there is a high correlation between male and female rates in each country. That is, countries with high female attrition also have, on the average, high male attrition, and the same applies for low attrition countries. In Africa region, however, the same correlation does not exist; countries with high or low rates for one sex do not necessarily have com-

parable rates for the other sex. In Senegal, for example, the male early termination rate is 28.6 per cent, the female 8.8 per cent. *The reasons for this difference would be worth investigating.*

There is certainly the strong suggestion here that we have nothing to fear from programming more women into Peace Corps. And the third conclusion above tells us further that we can program in all sectors with equal impunity. Of course, individual projects in individual countries will continue to be holdouts, but clearly the news is that women endure. Programmers can take their hearts out of their throats.

The Tables speak for themselves, but a few interesting facts might be noted:

- The breakdown of Volunteer input by region is

Africa:	62% male	38% female
LA:	58% male	42% female
NANEAP:	64% male	36% female

- "Self" is the most common reason for terminating for both sexes. Job is second. Environment/culture is a relatively rare reason for terminating for either sex.

- Preliminary analysis suggests the long-held belief that Moslem countries are particularly difficult for women may not be true. Another conclusion is also possible; Moslem cultures are difficult but women are tougher. In either case a larger sample would need to be taken to make a case.

- The Latin America region has the fewest countries (one, Guatemala) with a female early termination rate below 10 per cent. Africa has six countries with a female early termination rate below 10 per cent. Gabon, Chad, Solomon Islands, Nepal, and Oman did not have statistically significant female input (i.e. 20 or more trainees).

Perhaps the most useful information in the study appears in the country charts. Those countries where the difference between male and female early termination rates is high stand to learn a great deal from finding out why. What are they doing right for the sex with the lower termination rate? Can it be applied to the other sex to reduce attrition? What are they doing wrong that they can stop? Somewhere there's a lesson to be learned and, hopefully, share.

The input statistics, incidentally, should not be overlooked. Inasmuch as the study shows that women are not a risk, those countries not showing statistically significant female input (or those with significant but disproportionate female input) should examine what it is about their programming that has resulted in this imbalance. In many cases, most likely, women will have been excluded by default rather than by design. What the study suggests, however, is that such coincidental exclusion may be dear bought.

The purpose of the study has been to inform, not to expose or criticize. It is hoped that it will not only be of interest to the field, but be genuinely useful. We find the conclusions provocative and hope that they will send us all back to our drawing boards. Some of us will find our blueprints in order, but others will find the kitchen next to the garage. ■

COMPARATIVE ATTRITION BY REASON FOR EARLY TERMINATION (ET)

Male			Female		
Reason	# of ET's	%	Reason	# of ET's	%
Self	181	23.9	Self	102	25.4
Job/Assigment/Program	163	21.6	Job/Assigment/Program	82	20.4
Environ./Culture	82	10.8	Family	55	13.7
Family	73	9.7	Environ/Culture	45	11.2
Medical	70	9.3	Medical	41	10.2
Career	50	6.6	Other	23	5.7
Policy	41	5.4	Career	20	5.0
Other	36	4.8	Policy	13	3.2
Training	35	4.6	Training	13	3.2
Staff	25	3.3	Staff	8	2.0

COMPARATIVE ATTRITION BY JOB CATEGORY

	Male			Female		
Job Category	Input	# of ET's	%	Input	# of ET's	%
Agriculture/Rural Dev.	1,198	260	21.7	300	61	20.3
Business/Public Mgmt.	181	54	29.8	55	14	25.5
Education	1,477	290	19.6	1,132	211	18.6
Health	215	32	14.9	391	75	19.2
Urban Dev./Public Works	234	34	14.5	56	2	3.6
Omnibus	522	96	18.4	386	51	13.2
Individual Placements	293	56	19.1	225	33	14.6

COMPARATIVE ATTRITION BY REGION

Region	Male Input	Male # of ET's	Male %	Female Input	Female # of ET's	Female %
AFRICA	1,402	261	18.6	877	131	14.9
LATIN AMERICA	1,193	270	22.6	860	171	20.6
NANEAP	1,503	291	19.4	840	143	17.0
TOTALS	4,098	822	20.1	2,577	451	17.5

COMPARATIVE ATTRITION BY COUNTRY

AFRICA

Male Country	Input	# of ET's	%	Female Country	Input	# of ET's	%
Gabon	26	1	3.8	Botswana	44	1	2.3
Lesotho	83	4	4.8	Benin	31	1	3.2
Kenya	188	21	11.2	Lesotho	63	2	3.2
Cameroon	51	6	11.8	Mali	20	1	5.0
Gambia	34	4	11.8	Togo	24	2	8.3
Botswana	75	9	12.0	Senegal	34	3	8.8
Niger	67	10	14.9	Kenya	107	16	15.0
Togo	73	12	16.4	Swaziland	25	4	16.0
Swaziland	85	14	16.5	C.A.E.	30	5	16.7
Sierra Leone	75	14	18.7	Sierra Leone	29	5	17.2
Zaire	118	24	20.3	Zaire	98	17	17.3
Benin	24	5	20.8	Cameroon	26	5	19.2
Chad	51	12	23.5	Upper Volta	46	9	19.6
Ivory Coast	38	9	23.7	Gambia	20	4	20.0
Ghana	90	22	24.4	Ghana	50	10	20.0
Senegal	63	18	28.6	Ivory Coast	55	11	20.0
Upper Volta	49	14	28.6	Liberia	80	17	21.3
Liberia	128	37	28.9	Niger	58	13	22.4
C.A.E.	41	12	29.3				
Mali	28	9	32.1				
TOTALS	1402	261	18.6	TOTALS	877	131	14.9

Ethiopia, Malawi, Mauritania, Mauritius, Rwanda and Seychelles were not included due to a lack of statistically significant input, i.e. less than 20 Ts. Gabon and Chad were omitted from female input for the same reason.

COMPARATIVE ATTRITION BY COUNTRY

LATIN AMERICA

Male Country	Input	# of ET's	%	Female Country	Input	ET's # of	%
Honduras	84	9	10.7	Guatemala	41	4	9.8
Guatemala	143	25	17.5	Dominican Republic	35	4	11.4
Eastern Caribbean	107	20	18.7	El Salvador	48	7	14.6
Chile	56	11	19.6	Brazil	61	9	14.8
El Salvador	85	17	20.0	Ecuador	67	11	16.4
Dominican Republic	92	19	20.7	Chile	38	7	18.4
Colombia	96	21	21.9	Honduras	91	17	18.7
Nicaragua	75	18	24.0	Eastern Caribbean	107	21	19.6
Paraguay	59	15	25.4	Nicaragua	79	16	20.3
Ecuador	116	31	26.7	Costa Rica	77	18	23.4
Costa Rica	84	23	27.4	Colombia	112	27	24.1
Brazil	74	22	29.7	Belize	30	8	26.7
Belize	41	13	31.7	Jamaica	49	16	32.7
Jamaica	80	26	32.5	Paraguay	25	12	48.0
TOTALS	1,193	270	22.6	TOTALS	860	177	20.6

COMPARATIVE ATTRITION BY COUNTRY

NANEAP

Male				Female			
Country	Input	# of ET's	%	Country	Input	# of ET's	%
Yemen	23	1	4.3	Yemen	23	0	0
Korea	132	15	11.4	Fiji	59	2	3.4
Philippines	232	27	11.6	Philippines	151	13	8.6
Nepal	124	15	12.1	Western Samoa	29	3	10.3
Tonga	55	7	12.7	Korea	89	12	13.5
Fiji	140	9	13.6	Malaysia	93	16	17.2
Thailand	111	17	15.3	Tonga	33	6	18.2
Bahrain	20	4	20.0	Morocco	58	11	19.0
Western Samoa	49	10	20.4	Tunisia	70	18	25.7
Solomon Islands	30	7	23.3	Thailand	54	14	25.9
Malaysia	216	51	23.6	Afghanistan	27	8	29.6
Tunisia	76	20	26.3	Micronesia	85	29	34.1
Morocco	117	36	30.8				
Micronesia	130	42	32.3				
Afghanistan	26	12	46.2				
TOTALS	1,503	291	19.4	TOTALS	840	143	17.0

India, Malta, Iran and Oman were not included due to lack of statistically significant input, i.e. fewer than 20 Ts. The Solomon Islands, Nepal and Bahrain were omitted for the same reason from the female category.

. . . Many people feel that to liberate women from their traditional and often subordinate roles, you should organize a big campaign. But I feel that this kind of lecturing and canvassing is not going to deliver the goods, at least in the short run. We have to approach the problem through the back door, and, to me, the back door is association. If you associate women according to their trade—women who sell vegetables, fisherwomen and so on—you build up their self-confidence.

Women are much more relaxed with women, especially in traditional societies; they are not used to sitting with men and taking decisions. But the very fact that they belong to an institution which provides economic support gives them confidence. And once they have that they can fight the world!

I know this from an experiment carried out in the city of Ahmedabad. A very fine social worker there decided to associate 6,000 street vendors. These are women who sit on the pavement selling vegetables, or junk, or old clothes. They are a highly assorted group coming from some of the poorest families in the city, usually migrants; they earn very little and lead a marginal life.

Well, each of these women put up 5 rupees which the social worker collected in a fund and deposited in the bank. With the result that the women were able to get proper loans from the government bank, instead of having to rely on the moneylender who charges huge interest rates—200 or 300 per cent.

I asked these women if this had had any effect on their husbands' attitude towards them. (In these classes of the urban poor, in India as in Europe, it's very common for husbands to beat their wives, to drink and to take a second wife.) They said: "Yes, my husband doesn't beat me any more and he can't leave me, because I'm the one who brings the loan from the bank."

That's what I call back-door change. It's much quicker and more effective than a politician saying: "Women, you must rise, you must not allow your husbands to dominate you."

—Devaki Jain

PEACE CORPS AND WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

In August, 1976, for the first time in seven years, Peace Corps Country Directors met in Washington to discuss some of the major issues concerning Peace Corps. On the final morning of the Conference, Directors heard a presentation by three specialists in international development on the subject of Women in Development. The session was said by many to have been the most stimulating and thought-provoking of the five days.

The dialogue that follows was taken from the transcripts of that session (with apologies for segments which have been abridged or reconstructed from notes, where the taping system was inadequate). Whether you read with the point of view that Peace Corps has come a long way since last August, or from the point of view that we have a long way yet to go, P&T editors are sure you'll find it interesting reading.—Ed.

Panel Moderator: Samir Zoghby, Peace Corps Country Director/Tunisia
Panel Members: Nan Frederick, U.S. Agency for International Development
Turid Sato, World Bank
Dorothy Remy, Federal City College

Samir Zoghby:

We've been talking for the past four days about problems that concern Peace Corps, and I would like briefly to introduce the panel by relating their subject—Women in Development—to the things we've been considering. We can look at our problems from the Washington optic and see high attrition rates and low fill rates: with a little imagination and flexibility, perhaps we can increase the number of Peace Corps Volunteers—and the number who complete their two years—by placing females in some of the slots traditionally reserved for males. And we can look at the problem from the optic of the host country: a lot of programs may have failed because we have not taken into consideration the role of the women.

Whichever way we look at it, I think it's time that we consider the facts, and think about increasing the number of female Volunteers, and developing programs that will enhance the role of the women in host countries.

The first speaker will be Nan Frederick, who has worked for the past two years on a special AID advisory office for Women in Development programs; she is responsible for coordinating AID programs with Percy Amendment requirements.

Nan Frederick:

The Percy Amendment passed in Congress in 1973 mandates AID to integrate Third World women in their national economies through our own programs and projects, so as to increase their role and status and contribute to the total development process. There are three components: the first deals with design and conduct of programs and projects; the second stage is ensuring that women achieve new status; the third stage is measuring the contribution women make to the acceleration of development itself.

We are especially concerned with how modernization of the economy affects women. Unfortunately, modernization processes have frequently either reduced or eliminated women's roles without providing alternatives or opportunities. We do not know to what extent.

We know that approximately 85 percent of the

populations in developing countries live in the rural areas, that women work alongside men in rural areas and that often it is the women who do the agricultural work. However, our modern agriculturalists tend to think that women are not involved in agriculture or shouldn't be involved in production. I think everybody in this room knows to the contrary. That in fact is what the World Food Congress noted: women produce at least 50% of the food consumed in developing countries. Approximately forty per cent, as best we can estimate, of rural families are headed by women, which means a good percentage of the farming in developing countries may be actually managed by women. Yet women get little or no outside help, no education, training, credit, equipment, or technical assistance to improve their productivity. Women are also the processers, the storers, and marketers of food. And women are in charge of family welfare.

It makes sense then to see that women are not excluded from agriculture training schools and from agricultural assistance programs; to do so means reduced income and nutritional status of the family. And there are many who would say that this has already happened—that exclusion of women from such assistance has actually been instrumental in creating the food and nutrition crises. Also that lack of alternatives and opportunities increased the already difficult problem of over-population, as women see children as their only form of security. . . .

A lot of this is not necessarily the donors' fault. The traditions of the society itself or the woman's own status in society may be major constraints to her receiving credit, education, and technical assistance.

But what can we do about it? How do we involve women under these circumstances? I would suggest that first, the situation as to who does what—by sex, age, and occupation—be considered. Next, investigate your own programs and projects to see to it that women are not excluded, and, alternatively, find means of including the women. This requires imagination in some cases, but for the most part it means designing the project so that women can and will participate. To learn what women need and how they will respond to incentives, one must talk with women. In most instances, that means that the Peace Corps, like, AID, the United Nations, and the other donor programs, need more women staff. We all have a bad record on numbers of women professionals employed—usually worse overseas than at headquarters. But the need is there, partially because women can attract other women to speak out, but also because women know what kinds of problems exist for women in changing societies. The commonalities of problems among women in all cultures were recognized at the International Womens' Year Conference; even the donor countries and the developing countries had a lot in common when they came to discussion of women's roles and status.

I will stop here with the reminder that the Percy Amendment, like its newer counterparts among specialized agencies of the U.N., US private voluntary groups, other donors, etc., affords a new dimension for applying assistance overseas. The reasoning behind the Congressional action may have been a negative view of how aid programs adversely affect women. But the result is positive and affords a unique opportunity to review, revise, and use new strategy to reach and help the rural and urban poor.

Samir Zoghby:

Our second speaker, Turid Sato, is a loan officer for the East Africa Region at the World Bank. She is currently formulating guidelines for the integration of women in Bank programs and projects.

Turid Sato:

I think I want to start by telling you of my first encounter with the World Bank. I was hired some five or six years ago, and I expressed an interest in working in the East Africa region. I was told no—"because we already have a professional woman working there." I knew then what I was getting into.

But the Bank has changed a great deal since then. Not only are they now hiring more women, but they also have begun looking into the role of women in the developing world and recognizing that projects may not be able to meet their objectives if the women have not been taken into account. The Bank has changed from financing dams and highways, concentrating instead on rural and urban development to improve the lot of the poorest 40% of the people, and women are after all more than 50% of these people.

In the past we did not make women the beneficiaries of development efforts, and in fact we may have retarded their process of improvement. Now I think we can go back a little bit to find explanations for this. For example, before colonization, women had a fairly independent role in society. Women were the providers; they were responsible for feeding the family. They cultivated their own land and land was owned communally.

Then colonization came in, and with it the Western concept of individual ownership. Now when land registration started in these countries, the colonists automatically assumed that the men should have title to the land. And what happened was that the women, who had had equal status before, were now put into a subordinate status. This has had a fundamental effect on the role of women in these societies today.

For with title to the land, the men could get credit, and they could then take part of the land that was previously used for food crops and they could start producing cash crops; the women would have to take orders from the men. (When it comes to our projects and programs within the World Bank, we give funds to credit institutions which then lend to the farmers in cash crop production . . . and of course this has been beneficial to the economy as a whole—but it has not benefitted the women in particular.) And since the men had title to the land, they were the ones who had the contact with the colonists, who then invited them to the farming training centers for demonstrations, training programs, and so forth. So the men were introduced to "modernization" while the women stayed behind—and the situation was emphasized because of education. (In primary schools even today you find that two thirds of the students are boys.)

In fact, modernization requires a great deal of additional work, and this work often has fallen on the women. If you increase your output, that means you have more to carry to the market. It means that more water must be brought from two, three, or even more kilometers away to feed additional animals or to irrigate new crops. Headloading is the primary form of transport for these people, and women are the ones who carry most things. Thus women may in fact come to resent modernization and development . . . especially in cases where men have the only access to whatever cash ensues from family efforts, and they use it for reinvestment or for good times rather than for the welfare of the family.

Within the World Bank we have been reviewing the kinds of projects we could support in order to assist women. Population projects come to mind, because obviously, if you want to reduce growth rates, you have to get at fertility rates which women control. (In this area, we've also began to recognize that we may have to concentrate a little more on men as well.) Another area is health: the World Bank doesn't finance health projects *per se*, but we now have a number of health education projects in which we finance training schools for midwives and other kinds of paramedical nursing. We also have financed health centers in rural areas, and we include a family planning component to make sure that the women are getting proper pre-natal and post-natal care.

Water is in such tremendous shortage in many, many parts of the world, and because the water collection is, in virtually every society, woman's responsibility, you can make a real dent in improving the lot of women by establishing a community water point. With water easily available, you can also encourage the women to grow vegetables, and that will have an impact on the diets of families.

Finally, transport is another major area: by helping women to get bicycles, oxcarts, cars, or any other kinds of transport at a level they can afford below the pickup truck and tractors, we can have a major positive impact on their lives.

Samir Zoghby:

Our final speaker is Dorothy Remy. Dr. Remy is a professor of urban studies at Federal City College. Her field experience has been in Nigeria and in Kenya.

Dorothy Remy:

The main point I will make is similar to what Nan and Turid have said: that the process of economic development that is taking place now in poor countries has led, rather systematically, to a deterioration of the position of women relative to that of men. This is a working hypothesis that all three of us have.

In non-industrial societies women have been able to integrate their socially productive activities as farmers or traders with their role as reproducers, as mothers and child rearers. And while it's true that they are often subordinate to men socially in many contexts, many women also have large areas of autonomous economic and political control. In West Africa, for example, women have consistently controlled their own economic activities. And when they have organized into marketing associations they have had effective national political roles as well as important roles at the regional or village level.

But the imposition of an externally-controlled economic and political system has undermined this complementality of roles. Large scale manufacturing and cash crop agriculture tend not to afford women workers the flexibility to integrate their family responsibilities with their jobs.

Similarly, effective political decision making at a national level has been primarily in the control of the men who are in the cash crop agriculture or in the dominant manufacturing section of the economy, with the result that women lost their autonomous economic position. The systematic reduction of the kinds of activities that women can engage in, their exclusion from various fields of the economy, has made women vulnerable to specific exploitation, as women and as workers. Women are in many poor countries confined to poorly paid and marginal jobs within the wage-employed sectors of the economy; alternatively, they are forced to obtain whatever income they can through very marginal and oftentimes illegal activities. (Beer brewering or prostitution are primary examples of this.)

What I want to do is not so much to lay out the case, but to make some suggestions as to how you, as Country Directors, can look at the situation in your own countries with an understanding of what's happening to women. I suggest a series of questions for you to keep in mind as an approach for examining the issues. The first to ask is, what economic activities are increasing in importance in the country that you are involved in?

In most situations it will be the export-oriented, agriculture-extracted industries, processing raw materials to export, some kinds of industrial manufacturing for in-country consumption and bureaucratic and/or service occupations—I think these are the major ones. Then ask, what economic activities are declining in relative importance? In most countries these are subsistence agriculture, handicraft manufacturing and small scale trade. (Obviously the specific economic activities which fit into these categories will be unique to the situation in your particular country.)

Then the question to ask is, which segments of the population are most active in each of these rising and declining sectors of the economy? And the experience in parts of the world has been that the rising sector seems to be dominated by the men, also by the ethnic groups that were favored by the colonial government at the time of colonization; the region that has the most accessible or easily extractable natural resources seems to be dominant over regions whose resources are less readily exploitable; and the cities dominate the countryside. (But again, you can look at these issues in terms of your specific country.)

So my suggestion is to be looking for ways in which women can be more fully incorporated into the rising sectors of the economy instead of being left in the declining sectors of the economy as they are at the moment. It would be possible then to examine projects in terms of reversing some of these trends toward concentration of dominance and, in the process, making fuller and more equitable use of the resources available within countries—both human resources and physical.

One other aspect that's important to understand is that prior to the kind of capitalist development that is taking place now, there was often social subordination of women but, nonetheless, there were important mechanisms for their economic autonomy. So another suggestion is to think of ways in which economic self-sufficiency for individual women and for women as a collectivity can be reintroduced and redeveloped. Insist, forcefully, that any project to improve the position of women have a major component of training host country women to take over the project themselves. If there is an adult literacy program, for example, built into that program should be the training of women to take over the project after the Peace Corps Volunteer has left. I suspect that this is customary procedure for Peace Corps anyway . . . and if it isn't, I must ask why not?

Try to devise distinct concrete ways of facilitating the possibility of women integrating their productive and their reproductive activities. If women can't nurse their children while they're working in a factory as presently constituted, then it may require changing the way the factory is organized. I realize that you don't have control over factories, but that's the kind of thinking that is needed.

And, finally I want to emphasize that our objective is to integrate women into the activities where there is expanding economic opportunity and social value. Too often projects for women have concentrated on activities in the declining sector: embroidering placemats for sale to tourists. Projects which ease the domestic labor of women are an improvement over these: for example, providing water pumps and faucets for village women unquestionably lightens their burden. However, such projects fail to alter the basic pattern of work among agricultural women—they just make some aspects of it take less time. Instead, I suggest that new projects designed with women in mind move toward a restructuring of the work of women, making it more integrated into the dominant sector of the economy. In the water pump example, I would suggest that instead of merely teaching women to operate the new water pumps, women can be taught how to design and manufacture them. Small scale manufacturing enterprises, explicitly oriented to producing the machines that facilitate women's work, are a first step in enabling women to regain control over their productive activities. If women have control over these activities, I suspect that they themselves will devise the best ways to integrate their responsibilities as reproducers.

Samir Zoghby:
I would like now to open the floor for discussion.

Bill Robertson, Country Director/Kenya:

It seems to me that we've got to work from two points of view in Peace Corps. When I went to Kenya, I found that my staff was very competent—but all male. Now, we have female Peace Corps Volunteers who need to come in contact not only with a professional in education or agriculture or whatever the case might be, but with a woman, concerning some of the special problems they face. My wife plays this very vital role;

she is able to sit down and counsel the women—and not only women but men, too, in relationship to female types of issues. She travels with me everywhere I go and does this kind of counseling. (Of course, I have to pay her way.) So what I am saying is that we *need* to hire female staff.

And we do need to have more female Volunteers.

Now I think you are also absolutely right when you say that host country women ought to be doing things, in various kinds of succession. But if we go in and start pushing women's rights, Peace Corps is going to be kicked out of some countries; I hope we understand that. It is the right of every woman to live a fruitful life and to be able to come into a position that is commensurate with her ability, and we've got to open the avenues to develop some of the fields that women could possess. But I think it's incumbent upon Peace Corps as an Agency to say to host countries, "this is what we are going to do *as far as Peace Corps is concerned*, and hopefully you will move with us."

I would recommend to this group that perhaps what we need is some type of task force or committee to study the needs of Peace Corps and to think in terms of how we can best bring about the types of changes for women in the countries in which we happen to be working.

Nan Frederick:

The idea of a task force is good. Essentially this is what we did in AID to investigate the problem and make recommendations on organizing an approach to implementation of the Percy Amendment. We looked at as much material as was available from the United Nations, from our own sources, etc. What conclusions we came to have been the basis of our Women in Development efforts over the last year or so. Of course, we find the situation changing very rapidly, largely as a result of International Women's Year and the U.N. Conference.

Roger Nicholson, Staff Training/Washington:

I have a two part question. First, what information is available, and what kind of research should we be doing? And second, what is the attitude of Third World women toward Women's Liberation activities in the United States?

Nan Frederick:

In my view, your data collection should do three things: contribute to national planning—which means collecting largely economic and social data which is useful to problem-solving; involve local institutions and researchers; and establish a feed-back and evaluation system for updating data and revising development projects. Another method, from a headquarters viewpoint, is circuit-riding to obtain a sense of field problems and sensitivities and increase awareness of both Peace Corps and host governments.

Most countries established national commissions or women's bureaus for the International Women's Year, and most of those are still in operation. They are usually the most "instant" sources of statistics on women and the most up to date, and they can tell you about micro as well as macro studies that may have been done within the country.

As for your second question, I think you will find that the attitudes of women in developing countries can be fairly easily ascertained, and they are changing very rapidly—largely as a result of International Women's Year and the Mexico Conference—among men as well as among women. The results are very evident in the developing countries, where dramatic changes in legislation are being made, particularly concerning marital laws, divorce laws, inheritance rights, etc. Women's rights are being tackled locally by forces within the countries.

Leo Pastore, Country Director/Korea:

How do you go about establishing criteria for projects relating to the role of women? We want projects to be acceptable to the governments; do you suggest some kind of general policy or guidelines?

Nan Frederick:

AID has a mechanism called an impact statement, which is required on all projects through the AID programming process. The statement for a given project is supposed to assess the situation of women, explain how the project will benefit them (or not) and give details on how women, by numbers, will participate in the project—as agents, beneficiaries, trainees, planners, whatever. Most of these statements, as they come in, are inadequate. Some come in stating that women are not involved in a particular sector . . . this puts our office in the position of researching the situation in the given country and suggesting what should be reviewed or reconsidered. The inadequacy of the statements in my view is not necessarily deliberate. I think awareness is the crux of the problem: planners have not looked at the target groups—the people, and how they are affected, men, women, and children.

The documentation called for begins with a simple breakdown by sex, age, and a form of occupational

coding—who does what? Apply this to *your* analysis of programs and I guarantee that you will be surprised with the findings. Most of the data, you will find, will tend to omit women, particularly in the agriculture sector . . . but if it *is not* omitted, the information will show a whole new dimension to the problem.

Andrew Berky, Country Director/Mali:

What is the difference in percentage between males and females who apply to be Peace Corps Volunteers?

Linda Muller, Management/Washington:

The last statistic we had, I think, was 15,000 male and about 8,000 female. But it is difficult to measure, because with PreSlotting, a person cannot become an applicant unless there is a job available.

Leo Pastore:

We were sent a World Bank booklet (Integrating Women into Development)that proved very helpful. I think we can use as much of that kind of practical background information as possible.

Douglas Pickett, Country Director/Nepal:

I have the feeling that when we program, when we go to the host country governments, we tend to ask them what we think they want to hear. And that the host countries are trying to respond to what *they* think *we* want to hear.

Turid Sato:

A comment about the booklet: when we prepared it, we collected a lot of information and it was very difficult to decide what should go into it. It was partly a public relations exercise because of International Womens Year, so we decided to keep it rather short. From the kinds of questions and comments I'm hearing, I know that it could be a lot more comprehensive.

When it comes to programming, basically, we have to become aware of the issues. A fairly short analysis of the sector is very important. In virtually every field you can have a positive impact or a negative impact, and I think we have got to start thinking about that before we program. Of course we can't really know definitively what the impact will be, but we don't have to repeat our mistakes.

We are not trying to revolutionize the world, by any means. While I would like to see, eventually, women involved in the production of equipment in the technical fields where the money is . . . that is a long way hence. Right now, we are trying at least to make certain that the women are not worse off and perhaps we can improve their lot. I think probably you in Peace Corps have gone farther in that direction than we have.

But what is important is awareness—that was really the aim of the booklet.

Robert McClendon, Staff Training/Washington:

With three women Peace Corps Country Directors out of some fifty, we don't seem to be much of a model. What is AID doing, and the Bank, to recruit more women on the staff?

Turid Sato:

About four or five years ago we started working on the whole concept of increasing the number of female staff in World Bank line operations—professional positions dealing with programs and projects. The Bank had a consultant review the situation and make recommendations. (You know how much better it sounds when it is comes from outside.) Then we had awareness sessions within the Bank to try to bring the managers up to date and make them more receptive towards hiring women. We have now about eight or nine per cent female staff. About three weeks ago we were given a directive that each department should look for slots that could be filled by women—*any* open positions.

If we wait until we have women in exemplary numbers before we start programming for Women in Development, it will take ages. And of course, you might have men who are more sensitive to the development problems of women; women don't necessarily look after women in development. But *your* reason for having women on your Peace Corps field staff is very important, because you have women Volunteers.

Nan Frederick:

In AID we have tried to take the position that if we can demonstrate that there are women who want to work in the foreign service, women with qualifications which are the match or better of those of the majority of the males, then we will have made our point without a quota. So we have begun a talent bank. And it is really quite surprising to see the kinds of talent women in the United States do have. AID is comprised of "technicians" and in some cases rather rare specialities. The problem here is the "buddy" system or the

"old boy" system of hiring—which do not at all reflect the changes in recent years in the interests of women in the U.S.

But as Turid pointed out, it is not always true that a woman will automatically have a sensitivity or expertise in planning on behalf of women's interests. Just because you were a child once does not mean that you are an expert in child development.

Basically, *you* are responsible for the planning, *now*.

Judy Remy, Placement/Washington:

I wonder if we haven't left untapped a very talented resource—the staff wives. Do we provide training for wives before they go overseas?

Country Director:

My wife went through the regular staff training program, instead of just the week of training for wives . . . and she was not made to feel particularly welcome.

Country Director:

My wife joined the training program for Volunteers when we got to Ghana; she wanted to be able to respond to Volunteers needs and to speak the language. (Of course, we were required to pay for the training.)

Country Director:

Frankly, my wife was upset by that fact that never in the process of choosing me for the job was she considered by Peace Corps. She was never contacted, never interviewed; Peace Corps seemed to have no interest in her at all, and yet she is expected to do her share as part of the "country team."

Shane McCarthy, Country Director/Ghana:

I'd like to get back to the question of programming. While it is a good idea to have a committee looking at what to do, it is too easy to kill an idea in a committee, as we all know. Can you on the panel give us concrete suggestions that would be appropriate to Peace Corps before we go back to the field?

Patrick Dumont, Country Director/Mauritania:

I'd like to second that: you talked of getting out of the "placement racket" into bicycles, water pumps, etc.—just how do we go about it?

And I'd like to suggest that, before we close the session today we might form a working committee of Country Directors who could consider what Peace Corps could be doing.

Dorothy Remy:

It should clearly be an objective of the Peace Corps to have more women in more important staff positions to create an effective institutionalized way in which the issue of women in development can be dealt with over the long run.

But—beginning next week or whenever you go back to your countries, *you* are the ones who are in charge and have the responsible positions: it is up to you to make the decisions and up to you to do the work —with the support of people here in Washington to help you. The monkey's on *your* back.

I am delighted that you asked the question how to change from making placements to water pumps and bicycles. That is the central question. But I think that it would be presumptuous of me—who has never been to your country—to give an answer to that question. I haven't a clue how to do it, because I'm not familiar with your particular situation.

But it is quite clear that all of you have a rich and varied experience living in the countries you are involved with; and if you have this question in your mind, and you apply your own intelligence to it, you will come up with a solution that will be effective. And it will be different for each one of you; the particular form it will take will be unique to the particular situation.

When I was in Nigeria doing field work, everytime I would say that I was interested in talking to women, people would say, "oh, you are imposing your Women's Liberation ideas on us. We don't want to have anything to do with it." So, being a timid graduate student, I said, "well, good heavenly days, I wouldn't want to impose my ideas," and I bent over backwards not to suggest anything to anybody—which was a remarkable accomplishment, but I did succeed. And what I discovered was that all I had to do was ask women about the conditions of their lives in a reasonably open kind of way and vast amounts of information came forth about the ways in which they had been oppressed; about ways in which their mothers had had a different kind of existence; about their aspirations for their daughters and their fears

that the man would spend more money educating the son and not enough to educate the daughter; about the profound anxiety that came over them in the city because they had no kind of economic resources available to them, they were dependent on a man, and the man was seeing another woman; and about not having any economic skills that they could draw on in case the marriage ended in divorce. All this type of information was forthcoming on the basis of my just being there, listening, not imposing my ideas on people.

What I am suggesting is that one way to find out how to make the transition from placemats to bicycle pumps is for you to go and listen to the women in your country; to hear what they have to say. Not so much the women who live in cities who have been to universities, who are heads of Women's bureaus—because they often don't know, they haven't lived in the villages. . . . But sit in the village and listen. Sit in the urban market and listen. The women will tell you, if you look at all interested. Then, from that information, the question about how to make the transition will be answered. And you can do it in your own creative way, in response to your own situation.

Samir Zoghby:

I see that our time is up. . . . By way of an official closing I would like to express my hope that when they write the history of the Peace Corps in the future, they will say that we were in the forefront on this issue, dealing equitably with total communities—men and women—both and overseas in our development efforts.

Bill Robertson:

I have the feeling that we would all like to have more of a sense of closure, that we not leave without taking some action to establish a committee or task force. . . .

Due to shortness of time, the discussion was closed at this point with assurances from Peace Corps' Director John Dellenbeck that some action would be taken within a matter of weeks.

*In September, Mr. Dellenback asked twelve Peace Corps members of the ad hoc ACTION committee which had organized the panel for the Country Directors' Conference to act as Peace Corps' Women in Development Committee, with a mandate to study the issues and make recommendations for policy and programming. The WID Committee has been active since that time.**(More about the Committee can be found in What is the Peace Corps Role? An Informal Forum, which begins on page 36.)*

. . . I don't think this world wil be destroyed by an atomic explosion. I think it will be destroyed by an explosion of injustice, and that is why the question of the liberation of women is so very basic. It is a manifestation of injustice.

—Justice Annie R. Jiagge

ROLE ANALYSIS AS A TOOL FOR WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMERS

by Lucy Conger

EDITOR'S NOTE: One of the questions most frequently asked when the subject of programming for Women in Development is, how do we avoid imposing our cultural biases, whether in favor of men or in favor of women? Lucy Conger here argues that an understanding of women's roles (both formal and informal, both in the public and the private sector) and of how those roles fit into the society of a whole in a given country, should facilitate the development of unbiased programs to meet the needs of women and men who traditionally have remained on the margins of the development process. She provides an excellent tool for analyzing those roles, and follows up with suggestions as to directions Peace Corps programmers might consider taking.

THE AUTHOR: Lucy Conger served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Peru from 1968 to 1970. Since that time she has been working with U.S. AID on research, most recently on Peruvian squatter settlements, while pursuing graduate studies in Latin American anthropology.

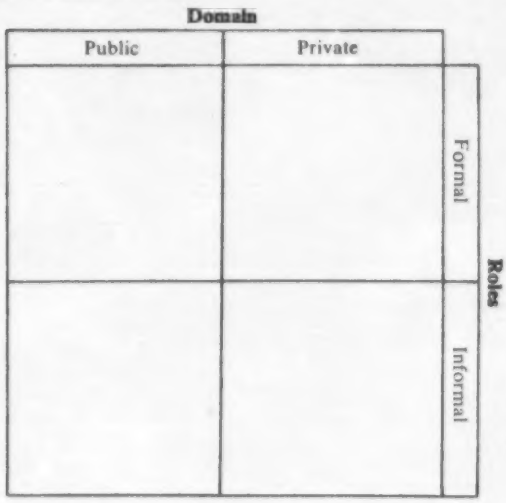
During the past months efforts have been made to assure that Peace Corps programs are designed to have a favorable impact on the integration of host country women into the development process of their respective nations. This is surely the most challenging aspect of Women in Development efforts: programming which includes a Women in Development component or focus is a new, little-explored territory; it suffers from a lack of data and a general lack of experience among host country governments and agencies and among international development organizations. While programming to incorporate host country women into the development process poses many problems, the need to address this issue is obvious and widespread, and the potential for achieving satisfaction and making a significant contribution to development efforts through such work is very high.

It is only through an understanding of women's roles that programmers may make accurate determinations of the needs of women, how best to facilitate their daily activities, how to reach women and promote their interests through development projects, and how to tap the human resources potential of women. Intelligent decisions about programming require knowledge of the work women perform, the skills developed and the time consumed in performing tasks, the people they interact with, the decisions they make and influence, and the areas in which they possess legitimized authority.

As an organization, Peace Corps is in a unique and advantageous position, for Peace Corps Volunteers live and work in communities and are in touch with the daily life of host country men and women. This type of contact takes on new meaning in the context of women in development. Since many women in developing countries do not participate openly or in an

organized fashion in the modernizing sector, it is only through contact with women in their local communities and close to their home and family life that one can obtain the knowledge necessary to determine their needs and formulate programs which address those needs and are workable within the cultural and familial context.

The diagram below* is proposed as a diagnostic tool for programmers, a means for structuring an analysis of the roles of host country women and men in relation to their societies. Such an analysis should lead to better programming to meet the needs of both women and men. However, women will be the major focus of discussion here.



This diagram categorizes the types of roles people fulfill, and the domains or spheres in which those roles are carried out within society. Roles are defined as duties and privileges which establish patterns for behavior. As seen in the diagram, life in society is conducted within two types of domain, public and private (or domestic). There are two types of roles, formal and informal. The diagram presents the types of roles held by the individual and places the individual's roles in the context of society as a whole.

The two societal domains are well understood and amply described in anthropological literature. The private domain is the sphere of life in which activities are performed by the localized family primarily for the use of the family unit. Most private domain activities are organized around social units comprised of a mother and her children and tend to be carried out in relative isolation. Institutional structures are at a minimum in the private domain. Kinship is the predominant form of organization, and personal relationships are intimate and based on face-to-face contact. In contrast, the public domain is the visible sphere of societal life. Activities in this domain are carried out by groupings of people which supersede the mother-child unit; institutional organization has its province in the public domain. Human interaction is impersonal, and class relationships are characteristic of the public sphere.

Formal roles are characterized by duties and privileges that are clearly defined and recognized by the members of society. Such roles are highly visible and confer status on those who fulfill them. Informal roles are not clearly defined by society; the activities involved in informal roles tend to be loosely structured or have structures which are not readily apparent to the observer.

Roles within society are grouped into four major categories: formal public, informal public, formal private, and informal private. Perhaps the best way to understand how social roles and the two social domains relate to one another is through examples. Formal roles in the public domain are almost always occupational roles such as cash crop farmer, shopkeeper, teacher, secretary. Formal roles in the private domain are generally kinship roles and include mother, father, child, godparent, etc., and involve tasks which are formally defined as a part of those roles. For example the formal private role of mother generally entails child-rearing, food preparation, and training of daughters and possibly sons in domestic tasks. Roles of friendship may be informal or formal depending upon the types of friendship involved or the meaning attached to friendship by the culture. Informal public roles would include occupations which are peripheral to the formal economic structure such as subsistence farming, street vending, junk collecting. In general, the underemployed and unemployed occupy informal public roles. Informal private roles are the most difficult to pinpoint because they are the least visible and most subtle. Yet this type of role is critical to life at the local level, for the activities involved in such roles facilitate smooth social relations. Women perform many important functions in this sector. For example, women often act informally as intermediaries between families or neighbors and may thus pave the way for economic or political alliances; women may provide protection to one another by moving about in groups; women often act as the agents who informally bring about mutual aid among neighbors or prevent conflict. These descriptions of the four sectors of social roles may be summarized as follows:

* Diagram and subsequent analysis adapted from: Chiñas, Beverly, *The Isthmus Zapotecs: Women's Roles in Cultural Context* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973).

Domain		
Public	Private	Roles
Jobs in formal economy Status	Kinship roles: mother, father, child, etc. Status	Formal
Economic roles peripheral to national economy	Intermediary roles at local and family level	Informal

On the basis of these characteristics of roles and domains a number of generalizations may be made. Social domains and roles tend to be sex-typed; i.e., the formal public domain is normally dominated by men. The private, or domestic, domain is primarily the province of women. Almost universally societies assign greater status to public roles than to private ones. Formal roles are those which confer status or prestige. In this sense, men have a corner on the status market since they are predominant in formal public roles and generally occupy the dominant positions among the various formal private roles. Women, of course, do gain status from their formal roles but their status is rarely equal to that of men.

In industrial and modernizing societies, the formal public sector may be thought of as the "literate" sector; this is the sphere of life in which transactions are recorded in writing. While written documentation may be used in the other sectors, it is not so critical to role fulfillment. In contrast, literacy is virtually a prerequisite to meaningful participation in formal public roles except perhaps in very localized settings. As a rule, the informal public sector of social life is the locus of people who are marginated from society: in the absence of a formal public role, they fulfill informal public roles. The poor, the disenfranchised, the economically marginal, and the illiterate—women and men alike—cluster in this arena. Because women normally carry out fewer roles in the public domain, it may be assumed that men predominate in the informal public arena just as they do in the formal public sector. However, significant numbers of poor women, especially female heads of household and women who need or wish to participate in the public sector but are unable to do so in a formal setting, will be found carrying out informal public activities.

The diagram has been drawn in such a way to give the impression that formal and informal roles comprise half of all roles. In fact, the horizontal line can shift upward or downward depending on the proportion of formal roles to informal roles. In most developing countries, particularly among the usual target populations of Peace Corps programs, informal roles are likely to predominate in comparison with formal roles. Such a situation might be represented diagrammatically as follows:

Domain		
Public	Private	Roles
		Formal
		Informal

Up to this point, these four sectors of social life have been considered in isolation from each other. In fact, most individuals participate in more than one of the sectors by occupying several different roles, and there is considerable criss-crossing by individuals back and forth between sectors. For example, when a mother confers with a school teacher about her child, she is interacting in the formal public sector while fulfilling the responsibilities of her formal private role. When a female head of household, with child in tow, sells her handcrafts on the street she is performing an informal public role while meeting her formal private obligations as a mother. A woman taking food to a sick neighbor is enacting an informal private role; if her intention is to pave the way for having the neighbor become godparent to her child, she is also acting to create a role in the formal private sphere. An awareness of the types of activities and interactions which occur across the boundaries of domains and roles established here is basic to gaining a sense of the individual as a whole person.

While people do carry out multiple roles and have interactions in both domains of societal life, there are also numerous constraints on the type of roles or activities which cross the public/private or formal/in-

formal boundaries. Women are especially affected by these constraints. In many parts of the world, women's mobility is severely restricted, making it difficult for them to gain access to or participate in the public sphere. Street vendors and other underemployed people, especially if illiterate, will have difficulty moving out of their informal public roles and finding work in formal roles which generally require literacy. Also, of course, the vicious cycle of poverty tends to make it extremely difficult for people who are marginated by society to gain access to the mainstream of society. Specialization is an integral part of the modernization process. As developing countries modernize and specialize, access to the formal public sector usually becomes increasingly difficult. The formal public arena of the modern sector becomes more and more exclusive at the same time that its influence on society as a whole becomes more pervasive and more profound. When people are prevented from carrying out several roles and from functioning in more than one domain, or are prevented from functioning as equals in various roles, they are unable to realize their potential. Women are commonly hindered by these types of restrictions.

"An awareness of the types of activities and interactions which occur across the boundaries of domains and roles . . . is basic to gaining a sense of the individual as a whole person."

At present most programming in international development focuses on the formal public sector. Programming by nature is formal and is clearly in the public domain. Some programs, such as child care and family planning, relate directly to people's private roles, but these are few. Programming rarely affects the informal dimension of social life in any positive way because informal roles tend to be elusive and are difficult to reach. In addition, the formal structure of programming does not readily adapt itself to informal aspects of societal life. In order for people—women and men alike—to become integrated into the development process, and to become integrated as individuals, programming must seek means to affect people's informal roles and the private domain of society. The end result will be a lessening of the barriers which isolate people, and particularly women, from one another, from the diverse facets of their own personalities, and from the larger forces in society which often direct their lives. One note of caution must be interjected, and that is that it would be not only difficult but also highly inappropriate for programming to attempt to reach the informal private sector of society given the nature of that sector.

Peace Corps has the potential for making a contribution to new programming which would better meet the needs of women and men who remain marginated from the development process. Volunteers and staff should be sensitized to the role of women in development as part of their training. An orientation to this issue should include discussions of women's roles, the potential for change and the social and cultural constraints on women's roles, and the means for analyzing those roles in relation to the family and to society as a whole. Of the various people in Peace Corps, Volunteers have the closest contact with women and with the private domain of society and are most likely to become familiar with the informal public sector. Volunteers could be trained to gather information describing and analyzing women's roles and to generate ideas for programs that address the specific needs of women. Such an effort will require a focus on the private domain and on informal roles. In order for women to participate in the formal public sector in relationships of parity, they must be familiar with the structures and workings of that sector. Literacy training, classes in simple accounting, orientations to how services are attained from public and private agencies, etc., will make the public domain more accessible to women and increase the possibility of that sector becoming more responsible to the needs of women. The tasks, skills, types of interaction, and authority of women in their formal private roles must be examined carefully to see what ways they could be developed into analogous formal public roles such as community or interest group leadership positions, formal employment, and so on. Such an approach to the integration of women into development must be careful to avoid the danger of creating "women's ghettoes." For example, the formal private role of mother may, with training, be easily expanded to include the formal public role of teacher at a child care facility. Women should have access not only to staff positions but also to planning and administrative positions and to leadership roles in the affiliated organization of parents.

Peace Corps has traditionally sought to address the informal public sector in the sense that its program and assignments of Volunteers were directed toward the poorest sectors of society. At present, this sector is being emphasized by other international development agencies. The isolation of the informal public sector from "mainstream society" leads to the generation of protective mechanisms and group solidarity among those in the informal sectors.

Among the more powerful protective mechanisms are distrust of or hostility to outsiders, factors which can make it very difficult for development programs to have a positive effect on the informal public sector. It is necessary to leave behind old structures and approaches and stress flexibility and structures adaptable to the informal sector in order to program successfully for those of this sector—the underemployed and unemployed, the rural and urban poor, and the majority of working women in developing countries. Until a way is found for people who make a livelihood from informal public roles to enter the formal public sector, then it seems the best way to reach the informal public sector will be through informal means.

Several examples may be presented of how the informal public sector may be affected through informal structures. Women street vendors are normally independent as operators, but most likely have informal associations or networks which could be utilized in new ways to promote common interests. These vendors are likely to have agreements with one another as to which woman sells in which spot on the street. They may well work in coordination with each other to protect and defend their collective territory. Similarly, if they operate as unlicensed vendors they probably have an established network designed to inform one another about forthcoming police raids intended to dislocate or arrest them. The leaders or organizers of such informal associations can be identified and the functions of these networks could be expanded with the cooperation of those leaders. Informal associations might work collectively to obtain licenses for the member vendors and thereby legalize their job status and enhance in some degree the security of the individual.

The marginally employed normally have access to credit through informal mechanisms. Street loan sharks provide credit to such persons, and such credit usually carries extraordinarily high interest rates and short-term repayment periods. These credit terms are often necessary because of the high risks borne by the lender. However, the service offered by the lender to people who otherwise would have no access to credit can create a relationship of trust. As a result, borrowers in the informal sector may be reluctant to use formal credit mechanisms even if there are no barriers to their use of such services. The informal credit system can be used as the basis for providing services to borrowers. In one development project, a development agency provided a payment or subsidy to the loan shark for his lending and collection services. The lender continued to collect high interest rates on his loans. However, the interest payments were deposited in savings accounts for high-risk, marginally employed people who were then able to use the savings to expand or formalize their business or to meet other needs. If a group of women known to each other are reached through such a program, they might decide to pool some of their savings and utilize them for common needs. A group of vendors of prepared foodstuffs might choose to share funds and risk by opening a small neighborhood restaurant. Or, savings might be used to buy merchandise in larger quantities at lower cost so that the vendor could raise her level of earnings. A development agency could offer vocational training as a follow-up to a savings plan. If women could be subsidized while in training, their savings could then be used for re-entry into the job market on a different level.

The delivery of health care services can be hindered by ignorance, fear, or distrust of modern health practices or personnel among the client populations.

"Peace Corps has the potential for making a contribution to new programming which would better meet the needs of women and men who remain marginated from the development process."

In some areas of the Third World people go to their neighbors for injections. These trusted neighbors who treat the sick might be trained for work in neighborhood health clinics. The familiarity between neighbors might facilitate the delivery of health care to more people.

These are but a few examples of the ways in which those who exercise informal public roles may be reached and affected through the already existing informal networks. Many possibilities exist for programming of this type. Volunteers and staff working in the field are closer to such situations and in a far better position to develop workable program ideas for this sector of society. Such programs would, of course, affect many women who are working to earn a subsistence livelihood.

By the same token, Peace Corps Volunteers and staff in the field are in an advantageous position in terms of becoming familiar with the formal private roles of women and for finding ways to further develop the skills, decision-making abilities, and authority of women in the private domain in such a way that women's interests are promoted. Peace Corps seems to be an organization especially well suited to introducing simple technology to women. Technology appropriate to the normal female tasks would not only lessen the physical labor and time consumed in daily chores but also could make it possible for women to participate in programs, such

as literacy or vocational training, etc., which would facilitate the integration of women into the development process.

Volunteers and programmers should examine the possibilities for programs which would familiarize women with the structures of the formal public sector and the means of gaining access to that sector and of functioning successfully in it. In this area, it may be worthwhile to consider programs in literacy training, cash economy, simple business accounting, the utilization of credit, and training in other functions of the formal public sector. Such programs would provide another route by which women could gain access to and participate in the development process.

Whatever the programming efforts ultimately chosen with a focus on women in development, the programs must be based on a knowledge and understanding of women's roles, formal and informal, in the public and private sector. An analysis of the content and significance of women's roles, and a sound reading of how those individual roles fit into the life of society as a whole should facilitate successful programming which would aid in integrating host country women into the development process of their countries. ■

. . . Take a typical peasant household like the vast majority today in India and most of Asia: everybody has to work, man, woman and child, whether as artisans or as farmers. Then, suddenly, a big factory is set up and an 'urban conglomeration' develops. The man is trained to work in the factory as the breadwinner, while the woman stays at home and keeps house. So you have this alienation the American liberation women talk about: the man doesn't think his wife is important, except to look after the children and provide food, and she feels left out of everything.

It is essential for us in the developing countries to rethink our economic development strategies. Not to accept large scale industrialization which moves employment into the cities and leaves the rural areas barren, but to take employment opportunities to the countryside by improving farming techniques and setting up small-scale industries in the villages: work like the cottage industries or the manufacture of watches as in Switzerland, that can be parcelled out into small units, so that the men, the women, and, if necessary, the children work together.

This is the view of many people in Asia today and the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) is holding a series of discussions about a new development strategy for rural areas. They should have employment opportunities, hospitals, schools, adequate housing, and cultural amenities . . . so that people shouldn't feel they have to go to the city to lead a gay life. This would have very important implications for women because it would mean that they wouldn't be separated from their husbands.

—Devaki Jain

*RESOURCES: Guide to Literature on Women in Development**

Since 1970 the attention given the Women in Development issue has generated burgeoning research projects, publication of materials, and collection of the resulting literature. The issue of women's role in the development process has been scrutinized through the eyes of the various social science disciplines—and examined by the professionals who work with women in the developing world in health, nutrition, family planning, and more recently, agriculture, etc. Periodicals produced in these fields, especially those that have published special issues on women, provide a source of the on-going stream of dialogue and deepening analysis as research continues.

The following suggested sources of information about women in world development are meant as avenues to explore . . . so that you can zero in on those materials useful to your specific local programming situations.

Bibliographies

Buvinic, Mayra. WOMEN AND WORLD DEVELOPMENT, AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. Overseas Development Council, 1717 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. $2.50. Prepared under the auspices of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

This bibliography was sent as part of the women's packet to each Country Director following the August 1976 Country Director's Conference. It identifies recent research throughout the world and provides concise summaries of the best-known works and a smattering of the lesser known—not comprehensive, but an excellent starting point in researching for specific kinds of categorical materials. The publications are divided into nine categories sub-divided according to geographic region: general studies; the impact of society on women's roles and status; women's behavior patterns and customs; socio-economic participation of rural women; education and women; women's work and economic development; women and health, nutrition, and fertility/family planning; women's formal and informal associations; and women, law, and politics.

Additional bibliographies, listed in Annex B, page 153, focus on particular segments of this development issue.

Additional Bibliographies

Almy, Susan. "Principal Sources: Women in Agriculture". New York: Ford Foundation, 1976, 3 pp. (Unpublished).

Frank, Genevieve. WOMEN AT WORK IN SOCIETY: A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1970-1975. (English and French), Geneva, Switzerland: International Institute for Labor Studies, 1976, 44 pp.

Fuch-Carsch, Marian, "Women in Ghanaian Development". WOMEN IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA. Vol. 6, U.S. Agency for International Development. Development Assistance Program, FY 1975-FY 1980, Ghana.
Although this bibliography is found in the Buvinic bibliography it is presented here because it provides a concise introduction to the thinking of major researchers working in women in development.

Elmendorf, Mary. "Suggestions. Recommendations, and Resources for Enhancing the Roles of Women in Development:, Peru, Chile, and Brazil", Washington D.C., A.I.D., Dec. 1974, 57 pp.

Moser, Collete and Johnson, Deborah. RURAL WOMEN WORKERS IN THE 20TH CENTURY: An Annotated Bibliography. East Lansing, Michigan: Center for Manpower and Public Affairs, Michigan State University, 1973, 63 pp.

Rainey, Mary and Hobbs, Mary. Topical Acquisitions List No. 4 "Non-Formal Education and the Role of Women and Families in Human Resource Development" Institute for International Studies in Education, 513 Erickson Hall, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48825.

Reigelman, Mary. Secretariat for Women in Development, New TransCentury Foundation, 1789 Columbia Rd., NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. Currently initiating preparation of an annotated bibliography emphasizing action-oriented program designs, rather than theoretical research. Available early autumn.

Periodicals and Journals

AFRICAN STUDIES NEWSLETTER. 218 Sheffman Center, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass. 02154. 6 issues per year. Lists new research.

Agricultural Development Council. WORKSHOP REPORTS, SEMINAR REPORTS, and REPRINTS. 1290 Ave. of the Americas, New York, New York 10019. Publications are generated as the result of conferences supported or assisted by the Research and Training Network.

American Anthropology Association. AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST. 1703 New Hampshire Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20009, quarterly, (institutional subscription, $40.00; $7.50 per copy). Vol. 78 #3, Sept. 76 is a special issue on women.

Agency for International Development. DEVELOPMENT DIGEST. Request copies from AID mission or U.S. embassies; subscriptions cost, $7.90 + $2.00 mailing charge, Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, quarterly.

American Council on Education. COMMENT. One Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C. 20036, quarterly. A publication on research on women.

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION EXCHANGE. Development Education Exchange, Action for Development, FAO, 00100 Rome, Italy. *About* selected materials, bimonthly.

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). IDEAS AND ACTION BULLETIN. FAO, 00100 Rome, Italy. Abstracts and information on programs for nutrition, family planning, women, health; quarterly.

International Labour Organization. INTERNATIONAL LABOUR REVIEW. Publication Sales Service, CH 1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland. $17 per subscription.

* Prepared by Mary Ernsberger, Asst. Ed. P & T Journal

International Planned Parenthood Federation. IPPF NEWS. 18-20 Lower Regent Street, London. SW 1Y4PW England. bimonthly.

IWY Tribune Project. IWY TRIBUNE NEWSLETTER. 345 East 46th St., New York, NY 10017. Subscription, $3.00, 6 editions. Provides country-by-country news of project information and assistance.

Ontario Institute in Education. CANADIAN NEWSLETTER OF RESEARCH ON WOMEN. Dept of Sociology in Education. 252 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1V6.

Overseas Liaison Committee. RURAL DEVELOPMENT NETWORK BULLETIN. 11 Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C. 20036. Specify English, French or Spanish. Current research and action programs; conferences and workshops; publications and films. (Issue #6 on women.)

Technical Assistance Information Clearing House. TAICH NEWS. 200 Park Ave., South, New York, New York 10003. Notice of new materials, projects, conferences, meetings and courses relating to planning and execution of overseas development assistance.

Women's International Network News, WIN. Fran P. Hosken, 187 Grant St., Lexington, Mass. 02173. ($25.00 institutional subscription, $15.00 individual subscription) 4 issues per year. "to establish a worldwide open communication system . . . transmitting internationally information about women and women's groups." "All the news that is fit to print for, by and about women."

Institutes

Institutes throughout the world which have given attention to this subject may have materials they themselves produce or knowledge of the sources of country-specific or region-specific research and active projects in development. Many names of the institutes which follow have been drawn from "The Impact of Economic Development and Social Change on the Status of Women: A Select Bibliography" published in 1973.

Afro-Asian Institute for Cooperative and Labor Studies, P.O. Box 16201, Nahardea 7-9, Tel Aviv, Israel. Tel. 240216/217. Role of women in development.

Centro Latino Americano de Pesquisas em Ciencias Sociais, Rua D. Mariana, 138, Botafogo, Rio de Janeiro GB, Brazil. Tel. 246-5253. Family and development.

Colegio de Mexico, Centro de Estudios Económicos y Demograficos, Guanajuato 125, Mexico 7, D.F. Tel. 5-84-11-22. Demography. Rural fertility survey in Mexico.

Council for Asian Manpower Studies Ltd., 4 Pubok aguinaldo, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines.

Development Center, OECD, 2 rue Andre-Pascal, 75775 Paris Cedex 16, France. Change in economic role of women and its influence on family structure in West Africa.

Institut Africain pour le Development Economique et Social, the Women's Service, P.C. 8008, 15 Avenue Jean-Mermoz, Abidjan, Ivory Coast. Tel. 43-92-92. Research aimed at the collective promotion of women.

Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, Nairobi, Kenya.

International Center for Research on Women, 2000 P St., NW #403, Washington, D.C. 20036.

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 37-41 rue Montagne aux Herbes Potageres, Brussels 1, Belgium.

International Council of Social Democratic Women, 88A St. Johns Wood High Street, London NW 8 7SJ, England.

Makerere University-Kampala, Makerere Institute of Social Research, P.O. Box 16022, Kampala, Uganda. Tel. 42471 (Ext. 418). Population growth, labor participation. Changing position and role of women in Lango.

National Institute of Development Administration Research Center, Bangkapi, Bangkok, Thailand. Tel. 910200. Role of women in economic affairs: study of occupational choice.

Organization of America States, Inter-American Commission of Women, 1735 I St., NW, Washington, D.C.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, P.O. Box 3001, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Tel. 47200. Population. Status and role of women in East Africa.

University of the Andes, Centro de Estudios sobre Desarollo Económico, Calle 18 A Carrera 1a E, Bogata, Colombia. Tel. 43.02.95. Fertility in Colombia. Patterns of nuptiality.

University of Dar es Salaam, Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning, P.O. Box 35097, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, Tel. 53611. Demography research.

University of Nairobi, Institute for Development Studies, P.O. Box 30197, Nairobi, Kenya. Tel. 29166. Family planning and population control.

University of Singapore, Economic Research Center, Bukit Timah Road, Singapore 10. Tel. 50451. Marriage and the family in a developing society.

University of Teheran, Institute for Social Studies and Research, Daneshkadeh Avenue, P.O. Box 13-1155, Teheran, Iran. Tel. 315466. Relationship between fertility and education.

University of the West Indies, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Mona, Kingston 7, Jamaica. Tel. 92-76661. Fertility in the West Indies.

A few examples are listed below of the organizations which promote projects in Women in Development. Through research of relevant literature selected from the materials already presented in this resource guide section, active committees, agencies, conferences, etc., of the kind represented below will become evident.

UNDP, 1 UN Plaza, Rm. DC-1900, NY, NY 10017. Produces materials such as the *Women in Development: Courses for Action* seminar series.

Pacific Women's Resource Centre, Ms. Claire Slatter, Box 534, Suva, Fiji. Provides support for women's projects and activities in the Pacific region.

Asia and Pacific Center for Women and Development, Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific, United Nations Building, Sala Santitham, Bangkok 2, Thailand. Recently approved interagency project, the planning emphasizing their urgent need for research and training activities and for a clearing house of information. To be located in Iran.

Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World, Beirut University College, P.O. Box 11-4080, Beirut, Lebanon.